



H. Gravelot inv. et delin.

J. P. LeBas Sculp.

*ALEXANDER in the TENT
of DARIUS.*

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THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

*By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University
of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal
College, and Member of the Royal Academy of In-
scriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

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THE ANCIENT HISTORY

O F T H E

Persians *and* Grecians.

C O N T A I N I N G

B O O K XIV.

The life of Philip, king of Macedon. His birth, education and wars with the several states of Greece: the arts by which he reduced them into dependance. His plan to destroy the Persian empire, and his unfortunate end.

B O O K XV.

The life of Alexander the Great. His birth, education, accession

to the throne; excessive ambition, and conquests over the nations neighbouring to Macedon. His expedition against the Persians. His victories over Darius; journey to Jerusalem; march through the deserts of Libya. He ruins the Persian empire. His conquests in India, particularly over Porus. His return to Babylon; intemperance and death. The judgment which ought to be formed of Alexander.

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Ludgate-Street. M D C C X X X I X.

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T H E

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS *and* GRECIANS.

P R E F A C E.

THE reigns of Philip king of Macedon and Alexander his son, which are the subject of this volume, contain the space of thirty-six years; the reign of the former including twenty-four, and that of the latter, twelve. They extend from the first year of the CVth Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad, which answers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings, who reigned during that time in Persia, were Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses and Darius Codomanus. The Persian empire expired with the last.

We know not any thing concerning the transactions of the Jews during these thirty six years, except what we are told by Josephus, Book xi. chap 7 and 8. of his *Antiquities of the Jews*, under the high-priests John or Johanan, and Jaddus. These will be mentioned in the course of this history, with which that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above-mentioned space of thirty-six years (with respect to the Roman history) extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the foundation of Rome. The great men, who made the most conspicuous figure among the Romans during that space of time, were Appius Claudius the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Cursor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii,

Decii, who devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country.

The names of Philip and Alexander, of whom we are now to speak, are so well known, that it would be superfluous to inform our readers, that the history of those two princes is very important and affecting.

It were to be wished, that the entire life of Philip of Macedon, written by some antient author, had come down to us; or (since we have no such life) that some modern writer had collected with care, from various authors, the several circumstances relating to it. For want of this, I have had recourse chiefly to * Demosthenes, and the interpreters of this orator; particularly to the notes of M. de Turreil, and those of Signior † Lucchesini, a noble patrician of Lucca, whose remarks are very learned.

With regard to Alexander the Great, not to mention Diodorus Siculus, and Justin; Quintus Curtius, Plutarch and Arrian have treated very largely of that monarch. The latter, who was a disciple of Epictetus, was of Nicomedia in Bithynia. He flourished under the emperor Adrian and the two Antonines. Arrian was a soldier, as well as a philosopher and historian; and this appears from the descriptions he gives of battles, which are much more accurate and exact than those of Quintus Curtius. His style is simple and unadorned, and he makes but few or no reflections: but this simplicity is infinitely superior to the splendid diction of the Latin historian. Arrian wrote the campaigns of Alexander the Great in seven books, in imitation of Xenophon, who had related those of Cyrus in the same number of books; which circumstance, with some resemblance in their styles, has occasioned his be-

* I frequently cite some Greek authors, whose editions I forgot to mention.

Demosthenes, printed at Frankfort, anno 1604.

Isocrates, in 8vo. of Paul Stephens, 1604.

Arrian, by James Gronovius; printed at Leyden, in 1704.

† These notes were printed at Rome, in 1732.

ing sometimes called the modern Xenophon. His history of India, comprized in one book only, seems in some measure the sequel and conclusion of that of Alexander.

Quintus Curtius wrote the same history in ten books ; the two first of which were not transmitted to us, but have been supplied by Freinshemius. The time in which Quintus Curtius lived is not exactly known, a circumstance which has occasioned a great dispute among the learned ; some of whom place him under Augustus or Tiberius, others under Vespasian, and others again under Trajan. His style is florid and agreeable : his history abounds with judicious reflections and very beautiful speeches ; but the latter are generally too long, and have too much the air of declamation. His thoughts, tho' ingenious, and very often extremely just, have however a conceited glitter, an affected brightness, which do not seem to argue the character of the Augustan age. It would be surprizing, if Quintus Curtius had lived before Quintilian, that the latter in his enumeration of the Latin authors, should have made no mention of so remarkable an historian. Be this as it will (for I leave the decision of it to the learned) I have made great use of that author, as well as of the excellent translation which M. de Vaugelas has given us of him.

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
P H I L I P.

SECT. I. *The birth and infancy of Philip. Beginning of his reign. His first conquests. The birth of Alexander.*

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, situated in antient Thrace, and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Bœotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II, who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years be-

fore, that is, *Anno Mundi* 3212, and *before Christ* 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often stiles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. (a) Alexander, king of Macedon in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being descended originally from Argos. (b) The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by surprize at day-break, justified his perfidy by his antient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The antient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themselves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were dissatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the fifth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the

(a) Herod. l. 5. c. 22.

(b) Idem, l. 9. c. 44.

arbiter of Greece ; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

(c) Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians ; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood-royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years. (d) Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians ; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war ; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatned him with a total and impending ruin. (e) It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

(f) Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great ; for we cannot distinguish him better, than

(c) A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. l. 14. p. 307, 341.

(d) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 333.

(e) Æschin de iali.

legat. p. 400.

(f) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

by calling him the father of such a son, as * Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

(g) Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolomy.

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

(h) The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Pausanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had sent him with a small fleet; not to besiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, desired to see him, intending to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had seated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children Perdiccas and † Philip, and sets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; she then spoke thus to him: “Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of these unhappy orphans, had always a love for your

(g) A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. 7. c. 4. (h) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Æsch. de fals. legat. p. 399, 400.

* M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim ceteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lu-

men illud progenit, ex filio est nominandus. *De Offic.* l. 3. n. 66.

† Philip was then not less than nine years old.

“ country,

“ country, and adopted you for his son. This double tie lays you under a double obligation. The amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you should acknowledge us publickly for your friends ; and the tenderness which that father had for your person, claims from you the heart of a brother to these children.” Iphicrates, moved with this sight and discourse, expelled the usurper, and restored the lawful sovereign.

(i) Perdiccas * did not continue long in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose : this was Ptolomy his brother, natural son of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas ; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to † Thebes, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-lov'd son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under

(i) Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.

* Plutarch supposes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolomy disputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æschines, who, being his cotemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

† Thebis triennio celsus habitus, prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe severitatis antiquæ, & in domo Epaminondæ summi & philosophi & imperatoris, deposuit. Justin. l. 7. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage: But with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. (A) After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly surprized at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle with the Illyrians, but much more so, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions; the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Phi-

(A) Died. l. 16. p. 407. Justin. l. 7. c. 5.

lip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. (l) Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the CVth Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: Accordingly, he provides for and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstates and disciplines the army. (m) He was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of all his enterprizes depended on it. A soldier who was very thirsty went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, and might dispute precedence in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea suggested by (n) Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them

(l) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. l. 16. p. 404, 413.
(m) Ælian. l. 14. c. 49. (n) Iliad. N. v. 130.

with the title of his * *comrades* or *companions*; and by such marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history, yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reflexions of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was, the negotiating a captious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sends ambassadors to Athens, spares neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. (o) He had seized upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up

(o) Polyæn. Stratag. l. 4. c. 17.

* *παιῖται* signifies verbatim, a foot-soldier, comrade, companion.

to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their antient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents ; resolving to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.

This address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude prisoners ; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power : he afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

(*p*) Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eubœa. That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negrepont. (*q*) It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions ; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused trium-

(*p*) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358. (*q*) Vell. Patere. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441.

phant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, persuaded, says * Æschines in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states; and it was this gave rise to (r) *the war of the allies*, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is during the first years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domestic divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakned themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes having weakned itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his

(r) A. M. 3646.

* Οὐχ ἡγρόμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ ἱστορίῳ.

turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he revolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents or promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties and alliances, and each of them in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. (s) The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. (t) However, this monarch was not so delicate in this point;

(s) Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 2.
358. Diod. p. 412.

(t) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C.

for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes.

(u) Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promise had made them supine and unactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of * Pydna and of † Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his interest.

(x) From thence he proceeded to seize Crenides, which the Thasians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling, a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused the golden species to be coined there, which outlived || monarchy. Superiority of finances is of
endless

(u) Diod. p. 412.

(x) Diod. p. 413.

* *Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulf antiently called Sirus Thermaicus, and now Golfo di Salonichi.*

† *Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues from Olynthus.*

|| *Græcus Alexandro Regi magno fuit ille
Chællus, incultis qui versibus & male natis
Rectaliter acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.*

*Horat. l. 2. Ep. ad August.
Cicilius*

endless advantage to a state ; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

(y) Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, *gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms.* But Philip thought, spoke and acted in a quite different manner. (z) It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer :

Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχεσθαι καὶ πάντα κρατῆσαι.

Make coin thy weapons and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the priests became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms ; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key ; and that he did not think any fortrefs impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. * It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror ; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece,

*Cherilus the Pelcan youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd ;
His dull, uneven verse, by great good fate,
Got him his favours, and a fair estate.*

Creech's Hor.

Hic sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi.
Plaut. in Pæn.

(y) Philip 3. p. 92.

(z) Suidas.

* Callidus emptor Olynthi.

Juv. Sat. XII. 47.

Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quàm victor.

Val. Max. lib. 7. c. 2.

*——— D'ffidit hostium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.*

Horat. lib. 3. Od. 16.

*When engines, and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall ;
Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew.*

Creech's Hor.

and

and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And indeed he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was son of Alcetas, king of Molossus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the CVIth Olympiad. (a) Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable * advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, *Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune.*

(b) We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. *I am to inform you, said he, that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Macedonia.* What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflections on it as

(a) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin. l. 12. c. 16. Plut in Apophth, p. 187. (b) Aul. Gel. l. 9. c. 3.

* Plutarch supposes, that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidaea, but this city had been taken two years before.

he shall think proper ; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one ; * for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip † put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid ; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

(c) This || was a body of infantry, consisting of sixteen thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the center of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ, (*sarissa*.) This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, twenty-one French feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, an hundred foot in rank and sixteen in file. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion ; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep : but its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

(c) Polyb. l. 17. p. 764—767. Id. l. 12. p. 664. Ælian. de instr. acieb.

* Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem : (quanquam suus cuique dignus est.) *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

† An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc offi-

cium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque optimè tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset ? *Quintil.* ibid.

|| Decem & sex millia peditum in re Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa. *Tit. Liv.* l. 37. n. 40.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six foot, or which is the same, four cubits ; and the ranks were also about six foot asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three foot distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a foot and an half.

This evidently shews the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up but five furlongs or five hundred fathoms *. And in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four ; and consequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank ; the pikes of the fourths four, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits ; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers who formed the first rank advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

* *Five stadia.*

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unweildy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with their utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the place in question) says he, take up in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three feet between every soldier. In this manner every Roman soldier takes up six feet,
that

that is, twice as much distance as one of the * phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank ; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we before observed. Now 'tis impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

(d) This Livy shews evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. † The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance in order, if possible to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a *tortoise* ; the Romans, I say, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy ; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point ; so that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

(e) Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so formidable as this

(d) Liv. l. 32. n. 17.

(e) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

* It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

† Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ cuneum Macedonum, (phalangem ipsi vocant) si possent, vi perrumperunt, emittebat — Ubi

conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis præ se Macedones objecissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testudinem, Romani pilis nequicquam emissis, cum strinxissent gladios ; neque congredi propius neque præcedere hastas poterant ; & si quam incidissent aut præfregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto, inter spicula integrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebat.

phalanx ;

phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression upon him, as almost made him despair of the victory.

From what has been said above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheless, we find by history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill or river. Now we seldom find a spot of this kind, of fifteen, twenty or more furlongs * in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a tract of ground, such as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops drawn up in a form of a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the center for instance) to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers, who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the same manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the antients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

* *Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.*

Hence

Hence appears, as (*f*) Mr. Bossuet observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian * phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property, (these are Polybius's words) that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such tracts, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

(*g*) This enabled Paulus † Æmilius to gain his celebrated

(*f*) *Discourse on universal History.*
Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. 44. n. 41.

(*g*) Plutarch in Paul.

* Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, & unius generis: Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; facilis partienti quacumque opus esset, facilis jungenti. *Tit. Liv.* l. 9. n. 19.

Erant pleraque sylvestria circa, incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit (quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est) nullius admodum usus est. *Id.* l. 31. n. 39.

† Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla eviden-

tior causa victoriæ fuit, quàm quòd multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbarunt primò, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confertæ, & intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine & gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur: si vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim irruentes Romanos, & interrupta multifariam acie, obviam ire cogeantur: & Romani, quacumque data inter-

valla

brated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes; Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not, as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union and the impresson it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

(b) The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom or six foot for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been said the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

(b) Lib. 12. p. 663.

valla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem

concurrissent—induissent se hastis, nec confertam aciem sustinissent. Tit. Liv.

SECT. II. *The sacred war. Sequel of the history of Philip. He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the pass of Thermopylæ.*

(i) **D**ISCORD, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the *sacred war*, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were summoned to appear before the Amphictyons, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man and of great authority, having proved by some verses in (k) Homer, that the sovereignty of Delphos belonged antiently to the Phocæans, enflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at the sentence which the Amphictyons had pronounced against them, at the solicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch however did not yet dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans,

(i) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod. l. 16. p. 425—433.

(k) Iliad. l. 2. v. 516.

but promised to assist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The * Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphictyons against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priests at first refused to co-operate on this occasion ; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper ; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a serious one. The Amphictyons meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god ; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple ; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt ; and being enabled by this fresh supply,

* Or, Locri.

to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded ; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans, having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages ; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

(1) This new general had soon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit ; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehensions of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties

(1) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

(*m*) Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of and razed it. (*n*) He lost one of his eyes before Methone by a very singular accident. After of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, *Well, I will take you into my service when I make war upon sterlings*; which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, *To Philip's right eye*, and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow with this inscription, *If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aylar*; and accordingly he was as good as his word.

(*o*) A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. (*p*) But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word *Cyclops*, or even the word *eye*, in his presence. Men however seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when,

(*m*) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. p. 434. (*n*) Suidas in *Καρον*.
Phaler. de Elocut. c. 3. (*o*) Plin. l. 7. c. 37. (*p*) Demet.

to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, *Now son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour.*

(*q*) After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having for some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand who were taken prisoners were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom

(*p*, Diod. p. 432—435.

he

he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides ; but at last Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room ; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phocæans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the public monies. Upon this Phalecus was deposed ; and, after an exact enquiry, it was found that from the beginning of the war, there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents, that is, about one million, five hundred thousand pounds.

(r) Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force ; so that he was obliged to return back ¹¹ to Macedonia.

(r) A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

SECT. III. *Demosthenes, upon Philip's attempting Thermopylæ, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his oration. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, addresses the Athenians for succour. Demosthenes endeavours by his orations to rouse them out of their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and Philip at length takes Olynthus.*

AS we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the public good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support fatigues of war by sea and land; the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to bear salutary advice; the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the public treasures in games and shews; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the ap-
proaching

proaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens, at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

(s) We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ. (t) Demosthenes taking advantage of so favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress, spread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near upon despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities entirely to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts Philip had prevailed over them, they then indeed would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness as even insults the Athenians.

“ See,” says Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, “ to what a height the arrogance of that man
“ rises, who will not suffer you to chuse either action
“ or repose; but employs menaces, and, as fame
“ says, speaks in the most insolent terms; and, not
“ contented with his first conquests, but incapable of
“ satiating his lust of dominion, engages every day
“ in some new enterprize. Possibly, you wait till
“ necessity reduces you to act; can any one be greater

(s) A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

(t) Demosth. 1 Philip.

“ to freeborn men than shame and infamy ? Will you
 “ then for ever walk the public place with this
 “ question in your mouths, *What news is there ?* Can
 “ there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has
 “ vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the
 “ supreme arbiter of Greece ? *Philip is dead*, says one ;
 “ *he is only sick*, replies another.” (His being wound-
 ed at Methone had occasioned all these reports.) “ But
 “ whether he be sick or dead is nothing to the purpose,
 “ O Athens ! For the moment after heaven had deli-
 “ vered you from him, (should you still behave as
 “ you now do) you would raise up another Philip
 “ against yourselves ; since the man in question owes
 “ his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence,
 “ than to his own strength.”

But Demosthenes, not satisfied with bare remon-
 strances, or with giving his opinion in general terms,
 proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed
 would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place,
 he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty gallies,
 and to resolve firmly to man them themselves. He
 requires them to reinforce these with ten gallies lightly
 armed, which may serve as a convoy to the fleet and
 transports. With regard to the land forces, as in his
 time the general, elected by the most powerful faction,
 formed the army only of a confused assemblage of fo-
 reigners and mercenary troops, who did little service ;
 Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than two
 thousand chosen troops, five hundred of which shall be
 Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies ;
 with two hundred horse, fifty of which shall also be
 Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only
 to provisions and other matters independent from their
 pay, was to amount to little more *per* month than
 ninety * talents, (ninety thousand crowns) *viz.* for-
 ty talents for ten convoy gallies, at the rate of twenty

* Each talent was worth a thousand crowns.

minæ (a thousand livres) *per* month for each galley : forty talents for the two thousand infantry, and ten drachmas (five livres) *per* month for each foot-soldier : which five livres *per* month make a little more than three-pence farthing French money *per diem*. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) *per* month for each horseman ; which fifteen livres *per* month make ten sols *per diem*. The reason of my relating this so particularly is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of provisions is not a considerable step, he is very much mistaken ; for he is persuaded, that provided the forces don't want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides ; and that without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of sufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprized at Demosthenes's requiring so small a body of forces, he gives this reason for it, *viz.* that at present the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a sufficient force in the field ; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harass, and keep close to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprizes with ease, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, according to the supineness natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one side employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of

Thebes their rival ; whilst on the other side, the Thesfalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip ; and assisted him (undesignedly) in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace ; and this he could scarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who since the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. However, being not firmly established on his throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the assembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four and thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

(u) In this * discourse, the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side he is a man, whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not satiate, an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies as so many subjects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes thro' obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse trafficks, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgot her inconstancy: But on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, digs himself the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, I mean of faith and villany; an usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which,

(x) Olynth. 2.

* The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthics, which relate to this subject. But M. de Tournai, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which ought to

be of great weight on this occasion, claims the second generally assigned in Demosthenes' orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthics. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the oration in the order they are printed.

by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Turreil draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. In it is shewn the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the antient order and regulations, to appease domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the public service; and that, at a common expence, every man according to his abilities may concur to the destruction of the common enemy.

Demades *, bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty galleys and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain assistance only from the Athenians.

However, this succour did not prevent the designs of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, the fortresses of Gira, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement.

* Scidas in voce *Δημάδης*.

Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiac generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy: For that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expences requisite for the succour of the Olynthians, because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervor which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute among them in times of peace * the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public shews, upon condition however, that they might resume this fund in time of war. The proposal was approved, and the restriction also. But, as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were so highly pleased with this distribution (called by Demades *a glue by which the Athenians would*

* These games, besides the two oboli which were distributed to each of the persons present, occasioned a great number of other expences.

be caught) that they absolutely would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which opposed Demosthenes, prohibited any person, upon pain of death, so much as to propose the restoring, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shews. Apollodorus was even punished, for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow, as quite defeated the design of them, without lessening the expence. As the artificers and sea-faring people, who composed above two thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell intirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the public monies being squandered upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to subtract from their diversions, merely to ease people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After shewing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprizes of Philip, he hints (but in a distant way) that those funds which were expended in theatric representations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners might be nominated,

not to enact new laws, (there being already but too many established) but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws ; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad necessity, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful, prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiac, (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill served by the venal succours of Athens, required, by a third embassy, a body of troops which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory, and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest solicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen galleys, of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

(y) The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the succours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthykrates and Laskheres, two of its most eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sells the rest for slaves ; and distinguishes those who had

(y) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. Died, l. 15. p. 450—452.

betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? (z) Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for their perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made them this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: *Don't mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name.*

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. (a) Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shews and public games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added feasts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

SECT. IV. *Philip declares in favour of Thebes against the Phocæans, and thereby engages in the sacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Demosthenes, into security, by a pretended peace and false promises. He seizes on Thermopylæ, subjects the Phocæans, and puts an end to the sacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphictyons.*

(b) THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocæans, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neu-

(z) Plat. in Apophtheg. p. 178.
(b) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

(a) Diod. l. 15. p. 341.

trality with respect to the sacred war ; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic, in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god ; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion ; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

(c) There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened

(c) Demosth. Orat. de falsa legatione.

him

him a passage into Greece ; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis: but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view ; and on this occasion the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, *viz.* Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himself to keep his word ; and in the mean time advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded ; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch
as

as they were desired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, stay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them asleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents, Demosthenes excepted, who being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Thessaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was (*d*) Isocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others served their country *viva voce*, in the public assemblies, Isocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made public, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he writ a piece of considerable length which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and

(*d*) Isocrat Orat. ad Philip.

eight. The scope of this discourse was, to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, *viz.* Athens, Sparta, Thebes and Argos. He confesses, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he should have been far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republics, whilst sustained and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had began to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In case he (Philip) should be so happy as to succeed in such a project; so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but at the same time has in reality no other object in view but the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes that rumours so injurious as these, have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended
from

from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name, and of sullyng all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicious of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties ; in removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality ; in not espousing the interest of one people against another ; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice ; in fine, by aspiring at no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to merit those last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne ; and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip against a prince inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprise, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads : That this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice ; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself ; and this being done, that

that he should turn his victorious arms against a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded, that it was his business to secure himself first of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by services but force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for assuring himself of them by much stronger ties than those of friendship, gratitude and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's designs. Upon his return from his embassy, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assures the Athenians that he had discovered the greatest candor and sincerity in the promises and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Thespiæ and Plataæ should be repeopled, in spite of the opposition of the Thebans; that in case he should proceed so far as to subject the Phocæans, he would preserve them, and not do them the least injury; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it; that Oropus should be given up absolutely to the Athenians; and that in lieu of Amphipolis they should be put in possession of Eubœa. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes remonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, endeavoured to pos-

sels

self himself, in an absolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him, they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his several promises, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

(e) These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phocæans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare sound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of sacrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his soldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topic of all conversations in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphictyons, and appoints them, for form sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had ren-

(e) A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. 16. p. 455.

* Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum,

Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem Deorum majestas vindicata sit. *Justin.* l. 8. c. 2.

dered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall all be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who have committed sacrilege shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their seat in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendance of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Bœotians and Thessalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in the obligations of the * confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become master of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and

* *With the Phocæans.*

put into his hands the keys of Greece. (*f*) The Athenians therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræus fortified, in order to put themselves into a state of defence in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They perhaps had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which is more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled such of the Amphictyons only as were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an assembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes however was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both the new Amphictyon, and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unseasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal, to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphictyons; and protested, that it was their interest to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what

(*f*) Demost. de fals. legat. p. 312.

was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *Oration on the peace*. We may probably believe that his advice was followed.

SECT. V. *Philip, being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens declaring in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again attempts Eubœa, but Phocion drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian. Philip besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of Demosthenes, send succours to those two cities, under the command of Phocion, who forces him to raise the siege of those places.*

(g) **A**FTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. (h) Diodorus observes, that all those who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

(i) Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ ; that he had subjected Phocis ; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphictyon ; and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity : judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to sooth the disquietudes which

(g) A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.
(i) Diod. p. 463.

(h) Diod. l. 16. p. 456.

arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops in exercise by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossess'd the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. * Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lyfander had destroyed Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated his country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; (k) but it was afterwards restored to them by Chersobleptus, son of Cotys, who finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the CVIth Olympiad; reserving however to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed as it were the gate and entrance of it. (l) After Philip had deprived Chersobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the CIXth Olympiad (m), the inhabitants of Cardia, being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city which formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

(n) Diopithes, principal of the colony which the

(k) Diod. l. 16. p. 434.
3669. Ant. J. C. 335.
Liban. in Demosth. p. 75.

(l) Ibid. p. 464.

(m) A. M.

(n) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

* *In Κάρειν.*

Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth ; without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in upper Thrace ; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes ; impeach him of involving the state in a war ; accuse him of extortion and piracy ; insist upon his being recalled, and pursue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the public welfare was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration *on Chersonesus*. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal ; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare * decree, an accusation in due

* It was called Πάρελλος.

form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled ; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprizes. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces ; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops, and fitting out gallies.

“ Your orators, says he, cry out eternally to you,
 “ that we must make choice either of peace or war ;
 “ but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who
 “ is daily meditating some new enterprize against us.
 “ And can we doubt but it was he who broke the
 “ peace, unless it is pretended, that we have no rea-
 “ son to complain of him, as long as he shall forbear
 “ making any attempts on Attica and the Piræus ?
 “ But it will then be too late for us to oppose him ;
 “ and it is now we must prepare strong barriers a-
 “ gainst his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it
 “ down as a certain maxim, O Athenians, that it is
 “ you he aims at ; that he considers you as his most
 “ dangerous enemies ; that your ruin only can esta-
 “ blish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests ; and
 “ that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with
 “ the view of falling upon you, and of reducing A-
 “ thens to a state of subjection. And indeed can any
 “ of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that Phi-
 “ lip is so greedy of a few paltry * towns, (for what
 “ other name can we bestow on those he now attacks ?)
 “ that he submits to fatigues, seasons and dangers,
 “ merely for the sake of gaining them ; but that as
 “ for the harbours, the arsenals, the gallies, the silver
 “ mines, and the immense revenues of the Atheni-
 “ ans ; that he, I say, considers these with indiffe-
 “ rence, does not covet them in the least, but will
 “ suffer you to remain in quiet possession of them ?

“ What conclusion are we to draw from all that has
 “ been said ? Why, that so far from cashiering the
 “ army we have in Thrace, it must be considerably
 “ reinforced and strengthened by new levies, in or-

* *In Thrace.*

“ der, that as Philip has always one in readiness to op-
 “ press and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side, may
 “ always have one on foot, to defend and preserve
 “ them.” There is reason to believe, that Demosthenes’s advice was followed.

(o) The same year that this oration was spoke, Arymbas, king of Molossus or Epirus, died. He was son of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and authority of his son-in-law, was raised so high as to share the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For, after the death of * Arymbas, Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas re-ascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, (so famous in the Roman history) and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. (p) Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators that had

(o) Diod. l. 16. p. 465.
 in Demosth.

(p) Demost. in Philip. 2, Liban.

* Justin, book viii. ch. vi. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds this succession.

been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that, after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily gave into an alliance which suited with his views. He proposed to the Amphictyons, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained, that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independance, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded ; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them ; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him ; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties ; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he must first have given it ; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the public stipulations ; but Æschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos and Messene, were also

very urgent with the Athenians ; and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

(*q*) But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negotiation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pursues ; and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. “ You excel, says he to them, both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your application and your cares. You speak in a better manner than him, and he acts better than you. The experience of the past ought at least to open your eyes ; and make you more suspicious and circumspect with regard to him : But this serves to no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus ; he is sending money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think that you will be secure, after he shall have possessed himself of the territories round you ? Art has invented, for the security of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls, ditches, and the like works ; but nature surrounds the wise with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides, and provides for the security of states. What is this bulwark ? It is diffidence.” He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouse from their lethargy ; to send immediate succour to the Lacedæmonians ; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading false reports, and employing captious assurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine at work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the *Shackles of Greece*. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. (r) At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

(s) Upon this Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. (t) That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have in the sequel a

(r) Demosth. Philipp. 3. p. 93.
p. 746, 747.

(s) Plutarch. in Phoc.
(t) Ibid. p. 743, 745.

great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked * barefoot, and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say laughing, *See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter.*

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise stile, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: *I am considering, says he, whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make.* He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried every thing against the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, say, *There's the ax which cuts away the effects of my words.* One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians: lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really un-

* Socrates used often to walk in that manner.

derstood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is saying a great deal.

Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people, and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilst he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wise government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command five and forty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his absence. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how it was possible for him in a manner to fix in his own favour, the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprice, without regard to their captiousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for the public good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude; set up the standard against

them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy ; for he pursued his enterprize, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens ; but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to insinuate himself into the minds of men with art ; and at the same time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels to raise the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. *To what purpose, says he, is such a squadron ? Too strong, if I am only to visit allies ; but too weak, if I am to fight enemies.* The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour and experience had done them, in the expedition of Eubœa. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

(u) Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. (x) To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority,

(u) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 486, 487.
Ant. J. C. 340.

(x) A. M. 3664.

though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him, in order to become his master, and form him in person for the trade of war.

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the specious pretence of a peace he had sworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterprises he formed against the commonwealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the Philippics.

(y) “ Whence comes it, says he, that all the Greeks
 “ formerly panted so strongly after liberty, and now
 “ run so eagerly into servitude? The reason is, because
 “ there prevailed at that time among the people, what
 “ prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed
 “ over the riches of the Persians; which maintained
 “ the freedom of Greece; which never acted incon-
 “ sistently on any occasion either by sea or by land;
 “ but which, being now extinguished in every heart,
 “ has entirely ruined our affairs, and subverted the con-
 “ stitution of Greece. It is that common hatred,
 “ that general detestation, in which they held every
 “ person, who had a soul abject enough to sell himself to
 “ any man who desired either to enslave, or even cor-
 “ rupt Greece. In those times, to accept of a present
 “ was a capital crime, which never failed of being
 “ punished with death. Neither their orators nor

(y) Philipp. 3. p. 90.

“ their

“ their generals exercised the scandalous traffic, now
 “ become so common in Athens, where a price is
 “ set upon every thing, and where all things are sold
 “ to the highest bidder.

(z) “ In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a
 “ perfect union, founded on the love of the public
 “ good, and the desire of preserving and defending
 “ the common liberty. But in this age, the states
 “ abandon one another, and give themselves up to re-
 “ ciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them with-
 “ out exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians,
 “ Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less
 “ than others, all, all, I say, form a separate inte-
 “ rest ; and this it is that renders the common enemy
 “ so powerful.

(a) “ The safety of Greece consists therefore in our
 “ uniting together against this common enemy, if
 “ that be possible. But at least, as to what concerns
 “ each of us in particular, this incontestable maxim
 “ it is absolutely necessary to hold, that Philip attacks
 “ you actually at this time ; that he has infringed the
 “ peace ; that by seizing upon all the fortresses around
 “ you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking
 “ you yourselves ; and that he considers us as his mor-
 “ tal enemies, because he knows that we only are able
 “ to oppose the ambitious designs he entertains of
 “ grasping universal power.

(b) “ These consequently we must oppose with all
 “ imaginable vigour ; and for that purpose must ship
 “ off, without loss of time, the necessary aids for
 “ Chersonesus and Byzantium ; you must provide
 “ instantly whatever necessaries your generals may re-
 “ quire ; in fine, you must concert together on such
 “ means as are most proper to save Greece, which is
 “ now threatened with the utmost danger. (c) Tho’
 “ all the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians, should
 “ bow their necks to the yoke, yet you ought to per-

(z) Philipp. 4. p. 102.
 lipp. 3. p. 88.

(a) Ibid. p. 97.
 (c) P. 94, 95.

(b) Phi-

“ silt in fighting always for the cause of liberty. Af-
 “ ter such preparations, made in presence of all
 “ Greece, let us excite all other states to second us ;
 “ let us acquaint every people with our resolutions,
 “ and send ambassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes,
 “ Chio, and especially to the king of Persia ; for it is
 “ his interest as well as ours, to check the career of
 “ that man.”

The sequel will shew, that Demosthenes’s advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. (c) The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity ; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made : (d) But what could be expected from a general, whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great ; who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the service of the fleet ! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours ; so that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

(e) In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all

(c) Plutarch, in Phoc. p. 747.

(d) Athen. l. 12. p. 530.

(e) Diod. l. 16. p. 466—468.

kinds without. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side, he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering rams. Nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprized to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatic satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance we observed the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward shew) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the edge of their resentments, by reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasts he had observed very religiously; this piece he interspersed very artfully, (for he was a great master of eloquence) with such complaints and menaces, as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majestic and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning, sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concise stile so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was said

said of Cæsar, * *That he handled the pen as well as he did the sword.*

This letter is so long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private facts (though each of these are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

“ At the time of our most open ruptures,” says Philip to the Athenians, “ you went no farther than
 “ to fit out privateers against me ; to seize and sell
 “ the merchants that came to trade in my dominions ;
 “ to favour any party that opposed my measures ; and
 “ to infest the places subject to me by your hostili-
 “ ties : but now you carry hatred and injustice to such
 “ prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to
 “ the Persian, in order to excite him to declare war
 “ against me. This must appear a most astonishing
 “ circumstance ; for before he had made himself mas-
 “ ter of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had resolved, in
 “ the most solemn manner, that in case he should at-
 “ tempt any new enterprize, you then would invite
 “ me, in common with the rest of the Greeks, to
 “ unite our forces against him. And nevertheless, at
 “ this time you carry your hatred to such a height, as
 “ to negotiate an alliance with him against me. I
 “ have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed
 “ to Pisistratus as an unpardonable crime, his having
 “ requested the succour of the Persian against the
 “ Greeks ; and yet you don’t blush to commit a
 “ thing, which you were perpetually condemning in
 “ the person of your tyrants.”

Philip’s letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people, who were very desirous of easing themselves of political disquietudes ; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of

* Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprizes and infractions of treaty ; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was sensible how vastly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip, the idea of an express declaration of war ; then, to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them that all things portend the ruin of Philip ; Gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation ; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

(f) The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this : “ Convinced by these truths,
 “ O Athenians, and strongly persuaded, that we can
 “ no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace,
 “ (for Philip has just now declared war against us by
 “ his letter, and has long done the same by his conduct) you ought not to spare either the public treasure, or the possessions of private persons ; but,
 “ when occasion shall require, haste to your respective
 “ standards, and set abler generals at your head than
 “ those you have hitherto employed. For, no one

(f) Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

“ among

“ among you ought to imagine, that the same men,
 “ who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to
 “ restore them to their former happy situation. Think
 “ how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon
 “ should contemn dangers to such a degree, that,
 “ merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush
 “ into the midst of combats, and return from battle
 “ covered with wounds: and that Athenians, whose
 “ hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to im-
 “ pose law on others sword in hand; that Athenians,
 “ I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indo-
 “ lence, should degenerate from the glory of their an-
 “ cestors, and abandon the interest of their country.”

At the very time they were examining this affair,
 news was brought of the shameful reception Chares
 had met with from the allies, which raised a general
 murmur among the people, who now, fired with in-
 dignation, greatly repented their having sent aid to the
 Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told the peo-
 ple, “ that they ought not to be exasperated at the dis-
 “ fidence of the allies, but at the conduct of the ge-
 “ nerals who had occasioned it. For it is these, con-
 “ tinued he, who render you odious, and formidable
 “ even to those who cannot save themselves from de-
 “ struction without your assistance.” And indeed
 Chares, as we have already observed, was a general
 without valour or military knowledge. His whole
 merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over
 the people by the haughty and bold air he assumed.
 His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself;
 and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as
 many blunders as enterprizes.

(g) The people, struck with this discourse, imme-
 diately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion
 himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order
 to succour the allies in the Hellespont. This choice
 contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium.
 Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not

only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines on his arrival opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and, in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. (b) Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire after having been wounded.

(i) The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here.

“ Under Bosphoricus the pontiff, * Damagetus, after
 “ having desired leave of the senate to speak, said, in
 “ a full assembly: Inasmuch as in times past the con-
 “ tinual benevolence of the people of Athens towards
 “ the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance
 “ and their common origin, has never failed upon any
 “ occasion; that this benevolence, so often signa-
 “ lized, has lately displayed itself, when Philip of
 “ Macedon (who had taken up arms to destroy By-
 “ zantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burnt

(b) Diod. l. 16. p. 468.

(i) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 487, 488.

* He probably was the chief magistrate.

“ our country, cut down our forests ; that in a season
 “ of so great calamity, this beneficent people succoured
 “ us with a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, fur-
 “ nished with provisions, arms and forces ; that they
 “ saved us from the greatest danger ; in fine, that
 “ they restored us to the quiet possession of our go-
 “ vernment, our laws and our tombs : The Byzan-
 “ tines and Perinthians grant by decree, the Athe-
 “ nians to settle in the countries belonging to Perin-
 “ thus and Byzantium ; to marry in them, to pur-
 “ chase lands, and to enjoy all the prerogatives of ci-
 “ tizens ; they also grant them a distinguished place
 “ at public shews, and the right of sitting both in
 “ the senate and the assembly of the people, next to
 “ the pontiffs : and further that every Athenian, who
 “ shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities
 “ above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of
 “ any kind : that in the harbours, three statues of
 “ sixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues
 “ shall represent the people of Athens crowned by
 “ those of Byzantium and Perinthus : and besides
 “ that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games
 “ of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to
 “ the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed ; so that
 “ the same ceremony may acquaint all the Greeks,
 “ both with the magnanimity of the Athenians, and
 “ the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines.”

The inhabitants of Chersonesus made a like de-
 cree, the tenor of which is as follows : “ Among the
 “ nations inhabiting the Chersonesus, the people of
 “ Sestos, of Ælia, of Madytis, and of Alopeconnesus,
 “ decree to the people and senate of Athens, a crown
 “ of gold of sixty talents* ; and erect two altars,
 “ the one to the goddess of gratitude, and the other
 “ to the Athenians, for their having, by the most
 “ glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of
 “ Philip the people of Chersonesus, and restored
 “ them to the possession of their country, their laws,

* *Sixty thousand French crowns.*

“ their liberty and their temples: an act of benefi-
 “ cence, which they shall fix eternally in their me-
 “ mories, and never cease to acknowledge to the ut-
 “ most of their power. All which they have resolved
 “ in full senate.”

(k) Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mœsia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

SECT. VI. *Philip, by his intrigues, gets himself appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphictyons. He possesses himself of Elatea. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the conquest of this city, unite against Philip. He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of Demosthenes, are rejected. A battle is fought at Chæroneia, where Philip gains a signal victory. Demosthenes is accused and brought to a trial by Æschines. The latter is banished, and goes to Rhodes.*

THE Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open de-

(k) Justin. l. 9. c. 2, 3.

claration of war. (*l*) The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded, that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.

(*m*) It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries ; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandise it wanted. Philip was sensible, that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniencies attending it, but by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic ; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states : but that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their

(*l*) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 748.

(*m*) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 497, 498.

chief, (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce with his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.

This was his aim, the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who sent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations, he raised divisions among the Ozolæ, of Locris, otherwise called the *Locrians of Amphissa*, from their capital city: their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having prophaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has seen that a like cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design, in which case all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his designs by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the *Pylagori*, by which name those were called, who were sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphictyons. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessors; but which they

they now were accused of usurping, by a most sacrilegious act.

Whilst the Amphictyons were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them at unawares; pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew resentment and war upon these Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphictyons, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following assembly of the Amphictyons, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there Æschines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies or representatives, either that they must assist themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their commonwealth the expence, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, *ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphictyons, implore his assistance; beseech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the impious Amphissians make their sport; and notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphictyons, elect him for their general, with full power to act as he shall think proper.*

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembles his forces, and marches (by a feint) towards the Cirrhean field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elatæa, the greatest city in Phocis standing on the river Cephissus, and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

This

(n) This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, *Who among you will ascend the tribunal?* (o) However, no person appears for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose a salutary counsel: for, says Demosthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians; and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately forms a counsel, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to shew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatæa has apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most antient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to as-

(n) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 501—504.
P. 474—477.

(o) Diod. l. 16.

ford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour ; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake ; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. “ What then is his design, and wherefore did he possess himself of Elætaea ? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his army, and advancing his power and forces around that city. On the other side, he would strike unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in such a manner, as may enable him to get the better of it, either by terror or force. Philip, *says he*, prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, under Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for service, and support these by your cavalry. By this step you will shew all Greece, that you are ready armed to defend yourselves ; and inspire your partisans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to

* He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Δίπαραι καὶ Αοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλεινὰ Ἀθῆναι. But the Athenians

not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.

“ Philip, have forces in Elataea ready to assist them
 “ upon occasion ; in like manner those, who are wil-
 “ ling to fight for the preservation of their own li-
 “ berties, have you at their gates ready to defend
 “ them in case of an invasion.” Demosthenes added,
 that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors
 immediately to the different states of Greece, and to
 the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a com-
 mon league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary counsel was followed in
 every particular ; and in consequence thereof a decree
 was formed, in which, after enumerating the several
 enterprizes by which Philip had infringed the peace,
 it continues thus: “ For this reason the senate and
 “ people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity
 “ of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of
 “ Greece to the safety of their own country, have
 “ resolved, that after offering up prayers and sacrifices,
 “ to call down the assistance of the tutelar gods and
 “ demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred sail
 “ of ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of
 “ their fleet shall go, as soon as possible, and cruise on
 “ the other side of the pass of Thermopylæ ; at the
 “ same time that the land generals, at the head of a
 “ considerable body of horse and foot, shall march
 “ and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That
 “ ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other
 “ Greeks ; but first to the Thebans, as these are most
 “ threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to
 “ dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain cou-
 “ rageously their particular independence, and the
 “ common liberty of all Greece. And let it be de-
 “ clared to them, that though formerly some motives
 “ of discontent might have cooled the reciprocal
 “ friendship between them and us, the Athenians
 “ however, obliterating the remembrance of past
 “ transactions, will now assist them with men, mo-
 “ ney, darts, and all kind of military weapons ; per-
 “ suaded that such as are natives of Greece, may,
 “ very

“ very honourably, dispute with one another for pre-
 “ eminence ; but that they can never, without fully-
 “ ing the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from
 “ the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to
 “ despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to
 “ so ignominious a slavery.”

(p) Demosthenes, who was at the head of this em-
 bassy, immediately set out for Thebes ; and indeed
 he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach At-
 tica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors
 to Thebes. Among these * Python was the chief,
 who distinguished himself greatly by his lively per-
 suasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to with-
 stand ; so that the rest of the deputies were mere no-
 vices in comparison to him : However, he here met
 with a superior. (q) And, indeed, Demosthenes, in
 an oration where he relates the services he had done
 the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this,
 and places the happy success of so important a negotia-
 tion, at the head of his political exploits.

(r) It was of the utmost importance for the Athe-
 nians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they
 were neighbours to Attica and covered it ; had troops
 excellently well disciplined, and had been considered
 from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea
 among the several states of Greece, as those who held
 the first rank for valour and ability in war. To ef-
 fect this was no very easy matter ; not only because of
 the great service Philip had lately done them during the
 war of Phocis, but likewise because of the ancient in-
 veterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip’s deputies spoke first. These displayed in the
 strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had
 loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which

(p) Plut. in Demosth. p. 353, 354.
 pro Coron. p. 509.

(q) Demosth. in orat.

(r) Demosth. ibid.

* This Python was of Byzan-
 tium. The Athenians had present-
 ed him with the freedom of their

city ; after which he went over to
 Philip. Demosth. p. 193, 745.

the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: but the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it singly: A prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprises. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

(s) The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardor. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered: But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said, that the priestess *Philippiz'd*, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who con-

(s) Theopom. apud Plut. in vit. Demosth. p. 854.

sidered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprized at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse: that of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but, not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, universally despised, and Lyficles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time animated with a noble ardor for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father had reposed in him, under whose eye he fought,

fought, in quality of a commander (for the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the *sacred battalion* of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. (r) Lyficles, one of the two generals, having broke into some troops which formed the center of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence, cried out, *Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia.* Philip perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously ; cried out, with a calm tone of voice, *The Athenians don't know how to conquer.* Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence ; and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the rest. (u) It is even said, that in his flight his robe being caught by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, *Spare my life.* More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was

(r) Polyæn. stratag. lib. 4.
orat. p. 845.

(u) Plut. in vit. decem

Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having set up a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shews, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and sung thus (himself beating time) *Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes, has said.* Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him : *Ab, Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites?* These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward : And, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says * an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the

* Ὑπὸ τῷ Δημάδῳ καθομιληθέντας ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς χάρισι.
Diod.

Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them cloaths; with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind treatment: In which, says Polybius (x), he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the antient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Bœotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

(y) We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his stile and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. (z) But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fossés, were all in conse-

(x) Polyb. l. 5. p. 359.

(y) Plut. in Isocr. p. 837.

(z) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 514. Plutarch. in Demosth. p. 855.

quence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls ; which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour ; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all rose up, in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honour upon him than he had enjoyed before ; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, a fickle, wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly ; in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough ; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

(a) But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the elogium of those brave men ; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure ; a

(a) Plat. *ibid.* Demosth. *pro Ctes.* p. 519, 520.

circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

*This earth entombs those victims to the state
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant-chains,
Did by their deaths alone escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed : no effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belongs the attribute
Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.*

(b) Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question with this solid answer :
“ Censure me (says he) for the counsels I give ; but
“ don’t calumniate me for the ill success of them. For
“ it is the supreme Being who conducts and terminates
“ all things ; whereas it is from the nature of the
“ counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention
“ of him who offers it. If therefore the event has
“ declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me
“ as a crime, since ’tis God and not my self, who
“ disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that
“ I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and
“ an activity indefatigable, and superior to my
“ strength : if with these I did not seek, I did not
“ employ every method which human prudence could
“ suggest ; and did not inspire the most necessary and
“ noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians ; shew me this, and then give what scope
“ you please to your accusations.”

(c) He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus (d). Demosthenes endeavours to justify his

(b) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 305.
(d) Longin. de sublim. c. 14.

(c) Ibid. p. 308.

own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Plataeæ: No, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: *No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Plataeæ; at sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious.* Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those antient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these * orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.

(e) Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shews were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans drest

(e) *Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452.*

* *Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, p. 562. observes, that the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoke in honour of such persons, as had lost their lives in the defence of their country.*

in compleat armour, he said with a loud voice:
 “ These young orphans, whom an untimely death
 “ in the midst of dangers has deprived of their il-
 “ lustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent,
 “ who has taken care of them till no longer in a state
 “ of infancy. And now they send them back, armed
 “ cap-a-pee, to follow, under the most happy auspi-
 “ ces, their own affairs; and invite each of them
 “ to emulate each other in deserving the chief em-
 “ ployments of the state.” By such methods, mar-
 tial bravery, the love of one’s country, and a taste
 for virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæroneæ,
 and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines
 drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather
 against Demosthenes: but the cause was not pleaded
 till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth
 year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the e-
 vent of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon
 the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was
 pleaded with so much pomp. * People flocked to it
 from all parts (says Cicero) and they had great rea-
 son for so doing; for what fight could be nobler, than
 a conflict between two orators, each of them excel-
 lent in his way; both formed by nature, improved
 by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions, and an
 implacable animosity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as
 the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of De-
 mosthenes. (f) Cicero had translated the latter, a
 strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it.
 Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that perfor-

(f) De opt. gen. orat.

* Ad quod judicium concursus
 dicitur è tota Græcia factus esse.
 Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut
 tam audiendum fuit, quàm sum-

morum oratorum, in gravissima
 causa, accurata & inimiciis in-
 censa contentio? *Cicer. de opt. gen.
 orat. n. 22.*

mance

mance is now extant, which suffices to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men, a considerable error, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid, just eloquence ; and that is, the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of solid eloquence ; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it ; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding ; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much ; for the Macedonian party, whom he had always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines ; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plauds and acclamations were redoubled : and it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival ; *But what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself !*

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: for the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cried out: * *How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, that I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!*

SECT. VII. *Philip, in the assembly of the Amphictyons, is declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that expedition. Domestic troubles in his household. He divorces Olympias, and marries another lady. He solemnizes the marriage of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.*

(g) **T**HE battle of Chæronea may be said to have enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Plataeæ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no less a design, than the destruction of their empire. (b) The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was, to get himself appointed in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the

(g) A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

(b) Diod. l. 16. p. 479.

* Some authors ascribe these words to Demosthenes, when, three years after, he met with the same

fate as Æschines, and was also banished from Athens.

Perfians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia minor.

(i) But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home ; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his consort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this, Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, *Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a bastard?* and at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner ; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword and ran directly at his son. Happily, the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest

(i) Plut. in Alex. p. 663.

difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in the bitter words following: *The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe into Asia ; he, who cannot step from one table to another, without running the hazard of breaking his neck.* After these words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him, whether the Greeks were in amity ? *It indeed becomes you, Sir,* replied Demaratus, *to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dissensions.* The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to return home.

(k) Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, *The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed.* Philip, hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order therefore that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods ; and prepares to celebrate with incre-

(k) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 338.

dible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely, for that festival, a tragedy * entitled *Cinyras*, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shews were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it with great and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to shew that he considered the affections which the Grecians bore him, as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refusal to

* Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mæster the Panto-

mime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.

do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince ; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately tore to pieces upon the spot. (1) Thus died Philip at forty-seven years of age, after

(1) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

(*m*) Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, That the night before he had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion Demosthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which shewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECT. VIII. *Memorable actions and sayings of Philip.
Good and bad qualities of that prince.*

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise.

(*m*) *Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.*

Mr.

Mr. de Turreil has collected with sufficient industry most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thessaly, he however at some intervals loved truth. He permitted (*n*) Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, *Philip, remember thou art mortal.*

(*o*) He * discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms ; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him ; a great quality (says Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service ? “ The greatest service “ thou couldst do us, said Demochares, would be to “ hang thy self.” Philip, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, however made the following answer with the utmost calmness of temper : “ Go, tell your superiors, that “ those who dare make use of such insolent language, “ are more haughty and less peaceably inclined than “ they who can forgive them.”

(*p*) Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whispered in his ear, *Let down the lappet of your robe ;* upon

(*n*) Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. 8. c. 15.

(*o*) Senec. de Ira, l. 3. c. 23.

(*p*) Plut.

* Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit & contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni,

which Philip replied, *Set the man at liberty ; I did not know till now that he was one of my friends.*

(p) The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publickly in the Olympic games ; *What won't they attempt* (replied Philip) *should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hands ?*

(q) His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spake ill of him : *Yes, indeed,* (says he) *and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where.* Another time, that they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him : *Let us first take care* (says he) *that we have not given him any reason to do so.* Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him ; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, that occasioned another fine saying of this prince's : *It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated.*

(r) Being urged to assist, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person, whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him ; *I had rather* (says he) *he should lose his reputation, than I mine.*

(s) Philip, rising from an entertainment at which he had sat several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to alledge which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her ; upon which she replied very calmly, *I appeal. How !* (says Philip) *from your king ? To whom then ? To Philip when fasting* (replied the woman.) The manner in which he received this answer, would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing ; found

(p) Plut.

(q) Plut. in Apophth.

(r) Plut.

(s) Ibid.

the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make it good.

(t) A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit ; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion ; *If you have not time to do me justice, be no longer king.* Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman ; and so far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was sensible, that a king and a judge are the same thing ; that the throne is a tribunal ; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice ; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt ; that he ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it ; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wise expression ; * *Be no longer king* ; and Philip comprehended all its force.

(u) He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request : *Take what thou wilt,* says he, *for thou hast me by the throat.*

(x) It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one, and sentenced the other to follow him.

(y) Menecrates the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows : *Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting.* Philip an-

(t) Ibid. (u) Ibid. (x) Ibid. (y) Ælian. lib. 12. cap. 51.

* Καὶ μὴ Βασίλευε.

swered ;

swered ; *Philip to Menecrates, health and reason**. But this king did not stop here ; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, whilst all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man ; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

(z) Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep ; *I indeed sleep, says he, but Antipater wakes.*

(a) Parmenio, hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience : *Don't wonder, says he, if he sleeps whilst you wake ; for he waked whilst you slept.* By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness, in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

(b) Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But *Philip* joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, *In my whole life I could never find but one general, (Parmenio) whereas the Athenians can find ten every year at the very instant they want them.*

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men ; and at the same time, the taste he him-

(z) Plutarch.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177.

* The Greek word *ὕπναιον* signifies both those things.

self had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that Mr. de Turreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies; he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents: to strike the surer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; as ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immovable, ever fixed in the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own subjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendant, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the dearest price; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflexion and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages, turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary, or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, *viz.* a steadiness and calmness of soul, that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with a restless activity, ardor and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head; for which reason I will cite his own words. (c) *I saw, says this orator, this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire; I saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part of his body she might desire, provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it.*

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact regular discipline; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprizes. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever consistent with discipline: and indeed, from his affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity

(c) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 483.

of precautions, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shews danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his designs; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specious outside of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but (*d*) Theopompus, a famous historian, who had writ the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. “ Philip, says (*e*) he, despised modesty and

(*d*) Died. Sicul. l. 16. p. 408.
Athen. l. 6. p. 206.

(*e*) Theopom. apud

“ regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and libe-
 “ rality on men abandoned to debauch and the last
 “ excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the
 “ companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abo-
 “ minable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the
 “ science of debauchery. Alas! what species of in-
 “ famy, what sort of crimes did they not com-
 “ mit, &c ? ”

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons ; I mean his politics. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived : And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this ? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies ; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece ; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed ; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

(f) Polyænus shews us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the compleating of his other designs. “ He did not (says he) carry on an open war against the Thessalians ; but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into different factions. He succoured those who sued for his assistance ; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their walls ; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest ; in a word, he rather fomented than appeased their divisions, having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not by his arms, that Philip subdued Thessaly.”

(g) All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politics. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs ? Deceit, craft, fraud, falshood, perfidy and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue ? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, subtle genius ; but we don’t find him possess’d of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour ; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it ; and made promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. (b) He did not blush to say, *That children were amused with play-things, and men with oaths.*

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other

(f) Polyæn. l. 4. c. 19.

b) Ælian. l. 7. c. 12.

(g) Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22.

person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity ! What idea should we form to our selves in the commerce of the world, who should value himself for tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among the virtues ? Such a character in private life, is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere sincerity, justice, and above all, the sanctity of treaties and oaths ; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety ? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour ; but how much more ought it to be so among princes ? “ We are bound (says a celebrated “ writer *) to speak truth to our neighbour ; for the “ use and application of speech implies a tacit promise “ of truth ; speech having been given us for no other “ purpose. It is not a compact between one pri- “ vate man with another ; it is a common compact “ of mankind in general, and a kind of right of na- “ tions, or rather a law of nature. Now whoever “ tells an untruth, violates this law and common “ compact.” How greatly is the enormity of violating the sanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties ? (i) *Were sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth*, said John I, king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, *they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings.*

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But tho’

(i) Mezerai.

* *Al. Nicole on the epist. of the 19th Sunday after Whitsuntide.*

this

this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour and religion? (*k*) *If your father-in-law* (Ferdinand the catholic) said Lewis XII to Philip archduke of Austria, *has acted perfidiously, I am determined not to imitate him ; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom* (Naples) *which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered.*

But those politicians who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war ; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit ? An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many more ; some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no success, how shining soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

(*k*) Mezerai.

BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A L E X A N D E R.

I H A V E already observed, that the history of Alexander, comprised in the following book, contains the space of twelve years and eight months.

SECT. I. *Alexander's birth. The temple of Ephesus is burnt the same day. The happy natural inclinations of that prince. Aristotle is appointed his preceptor, who inspires him with a surprizing taste for learning. He breaks Buccphalus.*

(a) **A** Lexander came into the world the first year of the CVIth Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world the celebrated temple of Diana in Ephesus was burnt. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Asia minor. A great num-

(a) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plin. l. 36. c. 14.

ber of * years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven columns, threescore feet high, which so many † kings had caused to be wrought at a great expence, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occasion. The rest of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

(b) Hegesias ‖ of Magnesia, according to Plutarch, says, *That it was no wonder the temple was burnt, because Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander.* A reflection, says our author, so very ‡ cold, that it might have extinguished the fire. † Cicero, who ascribes this saying to Timæus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surprized. Possibly the fondness he had for jokes, made him not over delicate in things of this kind.

(c) One Herostratus had fired that temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he confessed that it was the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states-general of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree, to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity ; for scarce one of the

(b) Plut. in Alex. p. 665.

(c) Valer. Max. l. 8. c. 14.

* Pliny says two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

† Antiently, most cities were governed by their particular king.

‖ He was an historian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, son of Lagus.

‡ I don't know whether Plutarch's reflection be not still colder.

‡ Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus ; qui, cum in historia dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagavisse, adjunxit : minime id esse mirandum, quòd Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abruisset domo. *De Nat. Deor.* l. 2. n. 69.

historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time have told us the name of the criminal.

(*d*) The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his stile; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above-mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion, for he was very swift of foot? He answered, *That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.*

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him; *Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do.*

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most surprized them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling and like one of his age; such, for instance, as enquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane-tree; (*e*) and that golden vine, the grapes of

(*d*) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 663—668. Id. de fortun. Alex. p. 342.

(*e*) Athen. l. 12. p. 729.

which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience : Alexander, I say, asked them questions of a quite different nature ; enquiring which was the road to Upper Asia ; the distance of the several places ; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted ; in what part of the battle he fought ; how he behaved towards his enemies, and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while ; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and (f) Artaxerxes, by saying one to another ; * *This young prince is great, and ours is rich.* That man must be vastly insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches !

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed, to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom ; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journies together, u'd frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and cloaths were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he entrusted with the whole care of his education. (g) One of the reasons which prompted Philip to chuse him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was,

(f) Artaxerxes Ochus.

(g) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

* 'Ο παῖς ἄριστος, βασιλεὺς μέγας ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος, πλάσιος.

as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle ; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner ; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of * Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him ; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves ; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing ; as also spacious vis'to's, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father ; declaring, † *That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.* The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. || He grew vastly fond of philosophy ; and learnt the several parts of it, but in a manner suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is but speciously so ; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind ; how greatly it differs from matter ;

* A city of Macedon, near the sea-shore.

† Ὡς δὲ ἐκείνον μὲν ζῶν,

διὰ τῆτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν.

|| Retinuit ex sapientia modum.
Tacit.

in what manner he perceives ſpiritual things ; how he is ſenſible of the impreſſion of thoſe that ſurround him, and many other queſtions of the like import. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give the mind ſo juſt a turn of thinking ; or the wonders of nature, the ſtudy of which, beſides a great many other advantages, ſhews how very incapable the mind of man is to diſcover the ſecret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye-witneſs. But Alexander applied himſelf chiefly to morality, which is properly the ſcience of kings, becauſe it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his ſerious and profound ſtudy ; and conſidered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wiſe policy. How much muſt ſuch an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own intereſts and the government of his people !

(i) The greateſt maſter of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boaſt, and who has left ſo excellent a treatiſe on that ſubject, took care to make that ſcience part of his pupil's education ; and we find that Alexander, even in the miſt of his conqueſts, was often very urgent with Ariſtotle, to ſend him a treatiſe on that ſubject. To this we owe the work entitled, *Alexander's rhetoric* ; in the beginning of which, Ariſtotle proves to him, the vaſt advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greateſt aſcendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wiſdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are ſtill extant, ſhew that he poſſeſſed, in its greateſt perfection, that ſtrong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with ſenſe and ideas ; and which is ſo entirely free from ſuperfluous expreſſions, that every ſingle word has its meaning ; which properly ſpeaking is the eloquence of kings.

His eſteem, or rather his paſſion for * Homer,

(i) Ariſtot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

* Imperatoria brevitare, Tacit.

shews, not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy ; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him, as are worthy a great king, and conqueror ; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence ; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer *, was that where *Agamemnon* is represented as *a good king, and a brave warrior*.

After this, it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius a gold box (enriched with precious stones) in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put ; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the most perfect, the most precious † production of the human mind. He admired particularly the *Iliad*, which he called, || *The best provision for a warrior*. He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the *edition of the box* was given ; and he laid it, with his sword, every night under his pillow.

(1) Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory,

(1) Aul. Gell. l. 20. c. 5.

* Ἀμφότερον, Βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερὸς τ' ἀιχμητῆς.

Iliad. 3. v. 172.

† Pretiosissimum humani animi opus. *Plin.* l. 7. c. 29.

|| Τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφ' ὅδιον. This word, which I have not been able to render better, sig-

nifies, that we find in the *Iliad* whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general ; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

he was displeased with Aristotle his master for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself desired to possess only ; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, that “ * he had much rather surpass the rest of men in the “ knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than the “ greatness and extent of his power.” He in like manner requested (*m*) Aristotle, not to shew the treatise of rhetoric above-mentioned to any person but himself. I will confess, that there is an excess in this strong desire of glory, which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his only may appear ; but then we at least must confess, that it discovers such a passion for study as is very laudable in a prince ; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to say contempt and aversion, which most young persons of high birth express for all things that relate to learning and study.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taste, with which his master (than whom no man possessed greater talents for the education of youth) had inspired him from his most tender infancy. *He loved, said that author, to converse with learned men, to improve himself in knowledge, and to study* † ; three sources of a monarch’s happiness, and which enable him to secure himself from numberless difficulties ; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the assistance of others. The conversation of persons of fine sense, instructs a prince by way of amusement, and teaches him a thousand curious and useful things without costing him the least trouble. The lessons which able

(*m*) Arist. p. 609.

* Ἐγὼ δὲ βυλοῖμην ἂν ταῖς
περὶ τὰ ἀρίστα ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς
δυνάμεσι, διαφέρειν.

† Ἦν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλο-
μαθὴς, καὶ φιλαναγνώστης.

masters give him, on the most exalted sciences, and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furnish him with rules to govern his subjects with wisdom. In fine, study, especially that of history, crowns all the rest, and is to him a preceptor for all seasons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troublesome, acquaints him with truths which no one else would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himself; teaches him to know himself as well-as mankind, who are the same in all ages. Alexander owed all these advantages to the excellent education Aristotle gave him.

(n) He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but in such a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign, because they * found in him both a skilful judge, and a generous protector, who was able to distinguish and reward merit.

(o) But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himself very attentively in throwing small pease through the eye of a † needle, which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander seeing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment, viz. a basket of pease.

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition; was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly notwithstanding his double authority of

(n) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. 2. p. 333.
l. 2. c. 21.

(o) Quintil.

* Μάρτυρα ἔλαβον καὶ Θεατὴν,
τὸν ἄριστον κρίναι τὸ κατορθώ-
μενον, καὶ μάλιστα ἀμείψασθαι
δυνάμενον.

† We may suppose it was some
instrument in the shape of a needle.

king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, strong, fiery, generous beast, called * Bucephalus. The owner would sell him for thirteen talents, about 1900 *l.* sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horse ; but upon trial he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, *What a noble horse they are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him !* Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men : but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun ; having observed, that the thing which frightened him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about, or sink down, in proportion as he moved. He therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice ; then seeing his metal abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackens the rein, without once striking or vexing him : and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the reign, and spurring him with great vigour, animated

* Some think he was called so, because his head was like that of an ox.
him

him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kissing his head, he said to him, *My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit.*

We are told a great many surprizing particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. (*p*) When this creature was saddled and equipped for battle, he would suffer no one to back him but his master; and it would not have been safe for any other person to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet. According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy, his horse, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himself in so vigorous a manner, that he saved his master's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of security; where perceiving * the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some measure at the service he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horse. Others say, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had lost in him a most faithful and af-

(*p*) Aul. Gell. l. 5. c. 2.

* Et domini jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensus humani solatio, animam expiravit. *Aul. Gell.*

fectionate friend ; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it *Bucephalia* in honour of him.

I have related elsewhere, that Alexander, at sixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's absence ; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery ; and that he afterwards distinguished himself in a most signal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

SECT. II. *Alexander, after the death of Philip, ascends the throne at twenty years of age. He subjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon who had revolted. He goes into Greece to dissolve the alliance formed against him. He possesses himself of, and destroys, Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He gets himself nominated in the diet or assembly at Corinth, generalissimo of the Greeks against Persia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying his arms into Asia.*

(q) **D**ARIUS and Alexander began to reign the same year: the latter was but twenty when he succeeded to the crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations, against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue

(q) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 386. Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. 17. p. 486—489. Arrian. l. 1. de expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

their antient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though he were absent, he nevertheless ruled in all assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the vanquished not being yet calmed nor moulded to subjection.

The Macedonians, reflecting on this precarious situation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; * to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to sooth, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reserve, complacency and insinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant † answer of their

* Θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν.

† Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassa-

dors what things they dreaded most? They replied with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.

ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the sky and planets.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report, which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. (r) Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called *a child*, and a * hairbrained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes's proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecataeus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

(s) When Alexander had secured his kingdom from

(r) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 453.
Ant. J. C. 334.

(s) A. M. 367c.

* It is *μωρυιτης* in Greek, a word which signifies many things in that language.

the Barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed the Thermopylæ. He then spoke as follows to those who accompanied him: *Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Thessaly; and I must now shew him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown.* He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon, to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with him in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength; for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers: but after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards enquired whether she had not
concealed

concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and shewing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most valuable things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mein that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæroneia, where he commanded. The prince admiring the generous answer of that lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Plataæ, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered, in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt

revolt of the Thebans ; a fault which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had indeed too rashly broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his successors. That what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear ; and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful ; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests ; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians ; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece ; and such as had opposed the revolt : but all the rest, in number about thirty thousand, he sold, and upward of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire ; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them

them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than, dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, *That the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard.* The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, tho' they had no other way to save their city; Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and interceded for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather, to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs, -waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators; and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of * Oræa, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republic. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learnt the art of war under Iphicra-

* A city of Eubæa.

tes, and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned, at Corinth, the * assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east, and the methods for executing a revenge suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing and almost incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the disposition of most things in the world.

To form such a design, required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch, who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make

* *Plutarch places that diet or assembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux supposed that it was summoned twice.*

so arduous an attempt ; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their antient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies ; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose ; a hatred, which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians ; the terror, which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had struck even as far as Susa ; shewed plainly what might be expected from an army, composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip ; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation ; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons have performed actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house ; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun ; but seeing so great a crowd of people

ple advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprized to see so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, *Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine.* This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, *Were I not Alexander,* says he, *I would be Diogenes.* A very profound sense lies hid in this expression, that shews perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander is sensible that he is formed to possess all things; such is his destiny, in which he makes his happiness consist: but then in case he should not be able to compass his ends, he also is sensible, that to be happy, he must endeavour to bring his mind to such a frame, as to want nothing. In a word, *all or nothing* presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not deny himself on this occasion inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on those days which are called *unlucky*, a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out; † *My son, thou art irresistible.* This was all he desired; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoke by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

* Homo supra mensuram humanæ superbie tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam pos-

set, nec eripere. *Seneca de Benef.* l. 5. c. 6.

† Ἀνίκητος εἰ ὦ παῖ.

Note with regard to the sequel of this history.

I could have wished, and it was even my design, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did for those of Cyrus the younger; this being of great assistance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conquests. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conquests being too large to be conveniently inserted in a Duodecimo. But to supply, in some measure, this defect, I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander sets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crosses the Hellespont, or the straits of the Dardanelles.

He crosses Asia minor (Natolia) where he fights two battles; the first at the pass of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he enters Syria and Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Libya to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He crosses that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesses himself of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passes into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxartes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

* *The capital of Babylonia.*

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus ; enters India, which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almost to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches ; first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia ; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places ; we shall find that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues without including his return to Babylon.

SECT. III. *Alexander sets out from Macedon upon his expedition against the Persians. He arrives at Ilium, and pays great honour to the tomb of Achilles. He fights the first battle against the Persians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.*

(1) **A**lexander being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprize which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort, in order

(1) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Died. l. 17. p. 499—503. Arrian. l. 1. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. 11. c. 5, 6.

to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice ; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it ; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * Scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals and officers, were invited. (u) He also treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous vision, in which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

Before he set out upon this expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse.

He also enquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesns were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdicas said to him, *My lord, what is it you reserve for your self ?* Alexander replying, *hope :* says Perdicas, *The same hope ought therefore to satisfy us ;* and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

(u) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 11.

* *Theatrical representations were so called.*

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was sensible, that this secret consists in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his subjects in such a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are one's own possessions, one's own happiness which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him (and by as close ties) as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the sequel of this history will shew, that no person ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither satisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having compleatly settled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip; and were each of them *, in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near threescore years of age; and when they were either assembled †, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas his son had eighteen hundred horse || under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives

* Ut non tam milites, quàm magistros militiæ electos putares. *Justin.* l. 11. c. 6.

† Ut, si principia castrorum

cerneres, senatum te alicujus priscæ reip. videre diceres. *Id.*

|| These were all Macedonians.

of the several states of Greece, and amounted to six hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot, which he accordingly did by the assistance of an hundred and threescore gallies and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achæians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; and made effusions in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia; and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe.

He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy * talents in money to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumstance of great importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

(x) Being arrived at the city of Lampascus, which he was determined to destroy, in order to punish the

(x) Val. Max. l. 7. c. 3.

* Seventy thousand crowns.

rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him swore in express terms, that he would never grant his request. *The favour I have to desire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you would destroy Lampsacus.* By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his life-time, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatness of his exploits. And indeed *, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perished in the same grave with his body.

At last Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The *Satrapæ* or deputy-lieutenants waited his coming on the other side of it, firmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of † one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal

* Cùm in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum constitisset: O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et verè. Nam, nisi Ilias illa existisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus eius contexerat, etiam nomen obruisset. Cic. pro Arch. n. 24.

† According to Justin, their army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thousand. Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine, what we ought to admire most in him ; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous ; had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat ; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, inhabited by enemies ; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him ; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arsites, a Phrygian satrapa, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havock in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings : The baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves ; and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy ; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprize, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs ; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it

would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: That they ought to take advantage of the terror, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread amongst the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass: and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence:

eminence : not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place ; and that Mémnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, heads them himself, animates them by his presence, pushes the Persians, and routs them : upon which the whole army follow after, cross the river, and attack the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length ; and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person ; and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side ; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates falls furiously, sword in hand, upon Alexander ; who being prepared for him, thrust his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment Rosaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gives him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was
I going

going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Rosaces's hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now perform wonders. The Persians in the center of the horse, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the surprize they were seized with, rather than bravery. But when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. It would

would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse were killed in this engagement, on the side of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all which was set up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed; and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such a familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of Persia, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils: *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted) gained these spoils from the Barbarians, who inhabit Asia.* A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who generally

rally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

SECT. IV. *Alexander conquers the greatest part of Asia minor. He falls sick of a mortal distemper, occasioned by bathing in the river Cydnus. Philip the physician cures him in a few days. Alexander passes the straits of Cilicia. Darius advances at the same time. The bold and free answer of Caridemus to that prince, which costs him his life. Description of Darius's march.*

(y) **T**HE success of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy consequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the side next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana, the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess; solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burnt the night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates a famous architect, who superintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expences they had al-

(y) A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. Diod. l. 17. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. 1. p. 36—39. & l. 2. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 1—3. Justin. l. 11. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. 14. p. 640. Solin. c. 40.

ready been at ; and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple only with his name ; for he was fond, or rather insatiable of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and however afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery for an evasion. They told him, that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him : and indeed the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a shew as if it would succour that city ; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling-ladders on all sides. The scalado was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve one another without the least intermission : and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalado was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Milesians with the utmost humanity, and sold all the foreigners who were found in it. The historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garri-
son.

(z) Alexander seeing that the enemy's fleet was failed away, resolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires; he was resolved to deprive his soldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other resource than that of victory. He therefore retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military engines, and a small number of other gallies.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigious difficult access from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest, as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice soldiers, with design to signalize his courage and fidelity for his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls; they had the grief to see their works demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent, vigorous sallies of the besieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were astonished to see a new one behind it; which was so sudden, that it seemed to rise out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in a semicircular form, destroyed a prodigious number of men; because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raised on the several sides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently seen at this

siege, that the strongest fortifications of a city, are the valour and courage of its defenders. The siege was held out so long, and attended with such surprizing difficulties, as would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander ; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions ; he took with him the surviving inhabitants with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having incompassed it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her stead. The scepter devolved upon Ada sister and wife of Idrieus, according to the custom of the country ; but she was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom succeeded, by Darius's command, Orontabates his son-in-law. Ada however was still possessed of a fortress called Alinda, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city ; and, after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to Ada.

(a) This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner ; delicious pies of all sorts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this

(a) Plut. in Alex. p. 677.

occasion,

occasion, “ That all this train was of no service to
 “ him, for that he was possessed of much better
 “ cooks whom * Leonidas his governor had given
 “ him, one of whom prepared him a good dinner,
 “ and that was by walking a great deal in the morn-
 “ ing very early ; and the other prepared him an ex-
 “ cellent supper, and that was dining very mode-
 “ rately.”

Several kings of Asia minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. (b) He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabazus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hytaspes his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all such of his soldiers as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to spend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the spring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees exactly with the law of (c) Moses ; and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learnt it from some Jew with whom he became acquainted in Asia ; and that approving it as a very wise and just custom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very

(b) Florus, l. 3. c. 5.

(c) Deut. xxiv. 5.

* Βελτίονας ἢ ὀψοποιὺς ἔχειν
 ὑπὸ τῆ παιδαγωγῆς Λεωνίδου δε-
 δομένους αὐτῷ· πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον

νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον
 ὀλιγαρισίαν.

early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or should first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. (d) This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by the Divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintus Curtius. It is surprising that Josephus the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews passing through the Red-sea as on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falsity of which Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, *That when he left the city of Phaselis, he marched on foot through the pass of the mountain called Climax*: and it is very well known that this prince, who was vastly fond of the marvellous, never let slip any opportunity of persuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very singular manner.

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander son of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this

(d) Strab. l. 14. p. 666.

traitor had sent him, promised him a reward of a thousand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he could murder Alexander ; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of so formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought to condign punishment.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marfyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender ; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured : And accordingly no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the antient and famous residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were twisted in so wonderful a manner, that it was impossible to discover where it began or ended. According to an antient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia. Now Alexander was firmly persuaded that this promise related to himself ; after many fruitless trials, he cried, (e) *It is no matter which way it be untied*, and thereupon cut it with his

(e) Sortem oraculi vel elusit, vel implevit. *Quint. Curt.*

* About one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

sword, and by that means, says the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper, to extricate him from present danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek nations who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over-sea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly, he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces designed for that expedition.

That prince could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his master's interests after that misfortune, but had assembled the scattered remains of the army, and immediately went first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his design in execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. The loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan
he

he had formed ; for Darius, not having one general in his army who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprize which could have saved his empire. His whole refuge therefore now lay in the armies of the East. Darius, dissatisfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army, whereupon being mustered they were found to amount to four, five, or six hundred thousand men ; for historians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced by hasty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow streight, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer, who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune ; and confessed, that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones : for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men compleatly armed could scarcely walk a-breast in it ; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only strait, but broke in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were

* *Quintus Curtius supposes it to be so called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the younger Cy-*

rus, which opinion appears the most probable.

setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are over-shadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river; invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their complaints in the following words: “The greatest prince
“that ever lived is torn from us in the midst of his
“prosperities and conquests; not in a battle, or at the
“storming of a city; but dies by his bathing in a
“river. Darius, who is coming up with us, will
“conquer before he has seen his enemy. We shall
“be forced to retire, like so many fugitives, through
“those very countries which we entered with tri-
“umph; and as the places through which we must
“pass are either desert or depopulated, hunger only,
“should we meet no other enemy, will itself destroy
“us. But who shall guide us in our flight, or dare to
“set himself up in Alexander’s stead? And should we
“be so happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall
“we furnish our selves with vessels to cross it?” After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and
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forgetting themselves, they cried aloud : “ Alas ! how
 “ sad is it that he, who was our king, and the com-
 “ panion of our toils ; a king in the flower of his
 “ youth, and in the course of his greatest prosperi-
 “ ties, should be taken off, and in manner torn out
 “ of their arms ! ”

At last the king recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him ; though the only symptoms he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus exposed naked and defenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered his confidants and physicians to come into his tent, “ You see (said he) my friends,
 “ the sad extremity to which fortune reduces me.
 “ Methinks I already hear the sound of the enemy’s
 “ arms, and see Darius advancing. He undoubtedly
 “ held intelligence with my evil * genius, when he
 “ wrote letters to his lieutenants in so lofty and con-
 “ temptuous a strain : however, he shall not obtain
 “ his desire, provided such a cure as I want is at-
 “ tempted. The present condition of my affairs will
 “ not admit either of slow remedies or fearful phy-
 “ cians. A speedy death is more eligible to me than
 “ a slow cure. In case the physicians think it is in
 “ their power to do me any good, they are to know,
 “ that I do not so much wish to live as to fight.”

This sudden impatience of the king spread an universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to

* Darius, who imagined himself sure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they should chastise this young fool ; and

after cloathing him in purple out of derision, should send him bound hand and foot to the court. Frein- them. in Quint. Curt.

hazard violent and extraordinary remedies ; especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with a thousand * talents the man who should kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child ; raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose ; which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects ; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but him only whom it most concerned ; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers ; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This † letter gave him great uneasiness, for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this, he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolster, gives it Philip to read. At the same time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the physician, swallows the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the least suspicion or un-

* About 145000*l.* sterling.

† Ingentem animo solitudinem literæ incusserant ; & quicquid in

utramque partem aut metus aut spes subjecerat, secreta æstimatione pensabat. *Q. Curt.*

casiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had shewed greater signs of indignation than of fear or surprize; and throwing himself upon the king's bed: *Royal Sir,* says he, with a resolute tone of voice, *your recovery will soon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be easy in your own mind; and suffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from servants, who indeed have shewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiscreet and unseasonable.* These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so taking Philip by the hand, *Be you yourself easy,* says he to him, *for I believe you are disquieted upon a double account; first for my recovery, and secondly for your own justification.*

In the mean time, the phyfic worked so violently, that the accidents which attended it, strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was seized with such strong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of phyfic to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable subjects; discoursing one moment about his mother and his sisters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with hasty steps, to crown his past triumphs. At last the physician's art having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a salutary and vivific virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigor, and afterwards his body much sooner than had been expected. Three days after he shewed himself to the army, who were never satisfied with gazing upon him, and could scarce believe their eyes; so much the greatness of the danger had surprized and dejected them. No caresses were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness, and returning him thanks as to a god who had saved the life of their sovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly they

they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him. They were persuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate assistance of the gods ; and as success always attended his designs, his rashness became glorious in him, and seemed to have something inexpressibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty enterprizes, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a fresh merit and a brighter lustre to his actions. * Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the soldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander ; such as his taking delight in bodily exercises ; his discovering a skill and excellency in them ; his going cloathed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors without lessening his dignity ; his sharing in toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid ; qualities, which whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflexion, made him equally beloved and respected by his soldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain security in the infinite number of his troops ; and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him ; but instead of this, he resolves to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only incumber one another : and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his

* Quæ leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt. *Q. Curt.*

every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: “Possibly, Sir, you may not be pleased
“with my telling you the truth; but in case I do not
“do it now, it will be too late hereafter. This
“mighty parade of war, this prodigious number of
“men which has drained all the east, might indeed
“be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple shine in every part of your army, which is so
“prodigiously splendid, that those who have not seen
“it, could never form an idea of its magnificence.
“But the soldiers who compose the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and bristling in every part
“with arms, do not amuse themselves with such idle
“shew. Their only care is to discipline, in a regular
“manner, their battalions, and to cover themselves
“close with their bucklers and pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry, which engages without
“flinching; and keeps so close in their ranks, that the
“soldiers and their arms form a kind of impenetrable
“work. In a word, every single man among them,
“the officers as well as soldiers, are so well trained up,
“so attentive to the command of their leaders, that,
“whether they are to assemble under their standards,
“to turn to the right or left, to double their ranks,
“and face about to the enemy on all sides, at the least
“signal they make every motion and evolution of the
“art of war. But that you may be persuaded, these
“Macedonians

“ Macedonians are not invited hither *, from the
 “ hopes of gaining gold and silver ; know, that this
 “ excellent discipline has subsisted hitherto by the sole
 “ aid and precepts of poverty. Are they hungry?
 “ they satisfy their appetite with any kind of food.
 “ Are they weary ? they repose themselves on the bare
 “ ground, and in the day-time are always upon their
 “ feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry,
 “ and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are armed
 “ cap-a-pee, are to be repulsed by stones hurled from
 “ slings, and with sticks burnt at the end ? Such
 “ troops as are like themselves, will be able to
 “ check their career ; and succours must be procured
 “ from their country, to oppose their bravery and ex-
 “ perience. Send therefore thither all the useless gold
 “ and silver which I see here, and purchase formida-
 “ ble soldiers.” † Darius was naturally of a mild,
 tractable disposition ; but good fortune will corrupt the
 most happy disposition. Few monarchs are resolute
 and courageous enough to withstand their own power,
 to repulse the flattery of the many people who are
 perpetually fomenting their passions, and to esteem a
 man who loves them so well, to contradict and dis-
 please them, in telling them the genuine truth. But
 Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for
 this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who
 had fled to him for protection ; was at that time his
 guest, and gave him at that time the best counsel that
 could have been proposed to him. However, as this
 cruel treatment could not silence Caridemus, he cried
 aloud, with his usual freedom ; “ My avenger is at
 “ hand, the very man in opposition to whom I gave
 “ you counsel, and he will soon punish you for de-

* Et, ne auri argentique studio
 teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina
 paupertate magistra stetit. *Q. Curt.*

† Erat Dario mite ac tractabi-

le ingenium, nisi etiam suam na-
 turam plerumque fortuna corrup-
 peret. *Q. Curt.* I suspect the
 particle suam.

“ spising it. * As for you, Darius, in whom sove-
 “ reign power has wrought so sudden a change, you
 “ will teach posterity, that when once men abandon
 “ themselves to the delusion of fortune, she erases
 “ from their minds all the seeds of goodness implant-
 “ ed in them by nature.” Darius soon repented his
 having put to death so valuable a person ; and experi-
 enced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Eu-
 phrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians,
 never to set out upon a march till after sun-rise, at
 which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose
 from the king’s tent. Over this tent was exhibited to
 the view of the whole army, the image of the sun set
 in crystal. The order they observed in their march
 was this :

First, they carried silver altars, on which there lay
 fire, called by them sacred and eternal ; and these were
 followed by the magi, singing hymns after the manner
 of their country. They were accompanied by three
 hundred and sixty-five youths (agreeable to the num-
 ber of days in a year) cloathed in purple robes. Af-
 terwards came a chariot consecrated to † Jupiter,
 drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of
 a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the
 sun’s horse ; and the equerries were dressed in white,
 each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and
 silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse,
 composed of twelve nations, whose manners and cus-
 toms were various, and all armed in a different man-
 ner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called
The Immortals, amounting to ten thousand, who sur-
 passed the rest of the Barbarians in the sumptuousness

* Tu quidem, licentia regni
 subito mutatus documentum eris
 posteris, homines, cum se permisere
 fortunæ, etiam naturam dediscere.
 Q. Curt.

† Jupiter was a god unknown
 to the Persians. Quintus Curtius
 therefore, in all probability, calls
 the first and greatest of their gods
 by that name.

of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were cloathed in robes of gold tiffue, with furtouts (having flevees to them) quite covered with precious ftones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's coufins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thoufand, in habits very much refembling thofe of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their drefs than the glitter of their arms.

Thofe called the † Doryphori came after : they carried the king's c̄loak, and walked before his chariot, in which he feemed to fit as on an high throne. This chariot was enriched on both fides with images of the gods in gold and filver ; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rofe two ftatues a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was cloathed in a veft of purple, ftriped with filver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious ftones, that represented two falcons rufhing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his wafte he wore a || golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his fcymitar hung, the fcabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue, mixed with white.

On each fide of him walked two hundred of his neareft relations, followed by ten thoufand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with filver, and tipt with gold ; and laftly, thirty thoufand infantry, who compofed the rear-guard. Thefe were followed by the king's horfes (four hundred in number) all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syfigambis, Darius's mother,

* This was a title of dignity. Poffibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body,

† Thefe were guards who carried a half pice.

|| Cadans,

seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

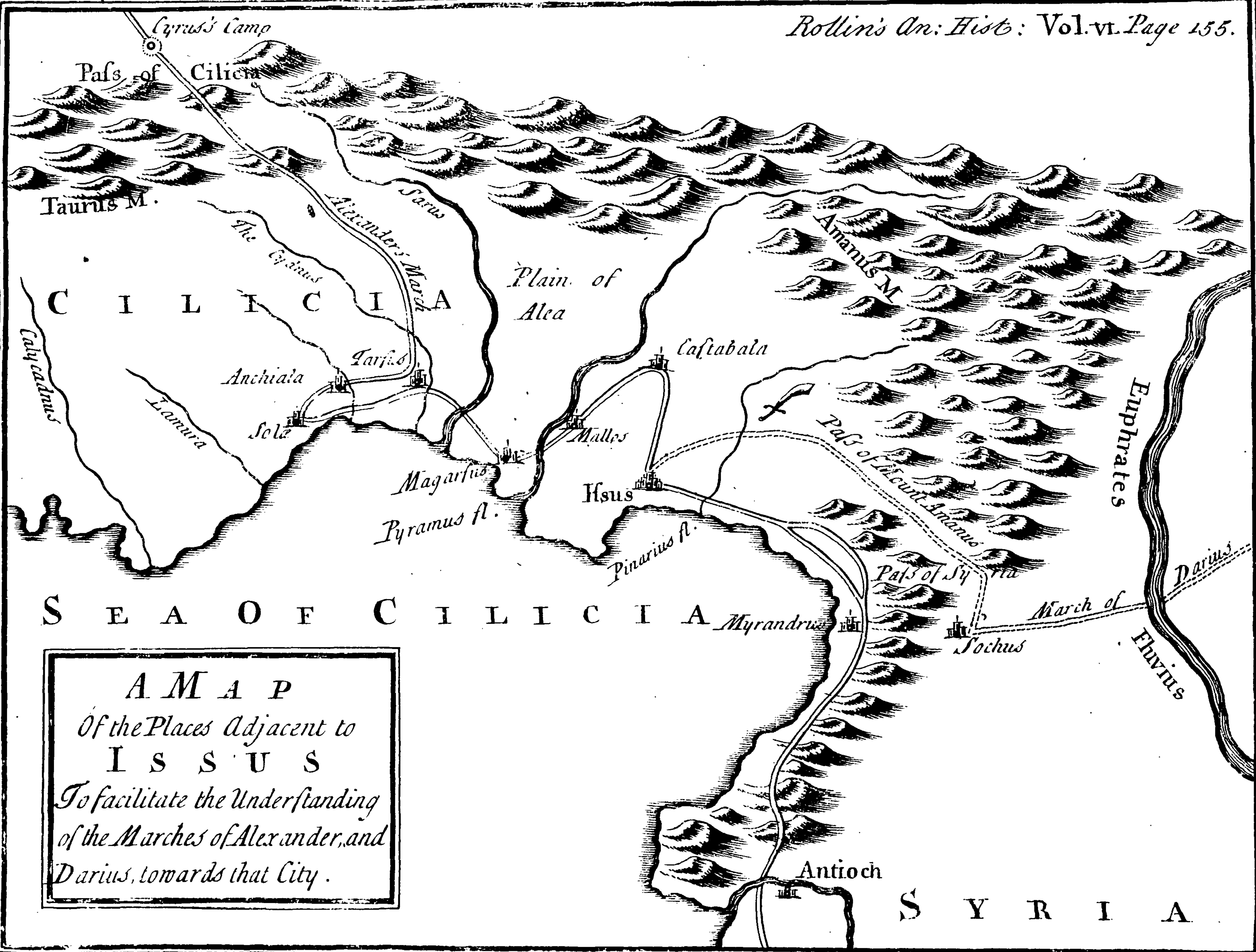
Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the least reason, would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces so cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domestics of both sexes? But the custom of the country was reason sufficient. Darius, at the head of six hundred thousand men, and surrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himself only, fancied he was great, and rose in the idea he had formed of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECT. V. *Alexander gains a famous victory over Darius, near the city of Issus. The consequences of that victory.*

(f) F O R the clearer understanding of Alexander's march and that of Darius, and the better fixing

(f) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

the



the situation of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three straits or passes. (g) The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure it for his march. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be seen in that city with this inscription, *Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarsus in one day; GO PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING.* From hence he came to Solæ, where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony, with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarsus, whence he arrived at Malles, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Assyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he set out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and,

(g) Diod. l. 17. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. 2. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 4—12. Justin. l. 11. c. 9. & 10.

after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Assyria of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his service, and formed the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming up of the enemy. For, besides that this spot was open on all sides, and very advantageous for his horse; it was spacious enough to contain his vastly numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and select such only as were the flower of his troops, and consequently not venture his whole army upon a single battle, which perhaps might be decisive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that after they should be once separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the safest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illustrious example of the punishment due to traitors. This proposal was vastly shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. He therefore answered, “ That he was far from ever de-
 “ signing to commit so horrible a crime; that should
 “ he be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give
 “ the least credit to his promises; that * it was never
 “ known that a person had been put to death for giving
 “ imprudent counsel; that no man would ever ven-

* *Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere: defuturos enim qui suaderent, si suavisse periculum esset.* Q. Curt.

“ ture to give his opinion, if it were attended with
“ such danger, a circumstance that would be of the
“ most fatal consequence to princes.” He then
thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and
condescended to lay before them the reasons which
prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander’s long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition ;) that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into straits and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately ; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him ; the gods, says an (*b*) historian, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius having sent his treasure with his most precious moveables to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of his army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army according to the custom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind ; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria ; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were then in the city of Issus, a few soldiers

(*b*) Arrian.

excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was, to engage in those passes, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And indeed, this spot of ground which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army ; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns ; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflexion, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them ; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity ; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them: but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that surprize ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulph, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the † Argyraspides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdicas, which terminated in the center of the main army. On the extremity of

* The antients used to offer up their sacrifices upon eminences.

† This was a body of infantry,

distinguished by their silver shields, but much more so by their great bravery.

the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy; and lastly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of these bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Theffalians, on the right; and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the Barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light-horse of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the * Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the center he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. These were all

* *Agria* was a city between the mountains *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*.

heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the prodigious multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in the several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having set his army in battle-array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: the rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the center of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Peloponnesus, and of some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the Barbarians. On the same side (the left) he posted, before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitalces (a king of Thrace) who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend so far as the left of the Persians, which might surround and attack it in flank, he drew from the center of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the enemy. He also reinforced that wing of his forces which he had opposed to the
Barbarians

Barbarians on the mountains ; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the summit of it ; so that he left only three hundred horse to keep them in, and sent the rest, as I observed, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended further than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath ; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late : for Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post ; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in fight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners ; and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented, “ the victories they had
“ formerly gained in Europe ; the still-recent glory of
“ the battle of the Granicus ; the great number of
“ cities and provinces they had left behind them, all
“ which they had subdued.” He added, that “ by
“ one single victory they would possess themselves of
“ the Persian empire ; and that the spoils of the east
“ would be the reward of their bravery and toils.” The Greeks he animated, “ by the remembrance of
“ the many calamities which the Persians (those ir-
“ reconcileable enemies to Greece) had brought up-
“ on them ;” and set before them “ the famous battle
“ of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of
“ Plataeæ, and the many others, by which they had
“ acquired immortal glory.” He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, “ view the enemy’s army, every part of
“ which

“ which shone with gold and purple, and was not
“ loaded so much with arms as with booty. That
“ they therefore should push forward (they who were
“ men) and strip all those women of their orna-
“ ments ; and exchange their mountains, covered
“ perpetually with ice and snow, for the smiling
“ plains and rich fields of Persia.” The moment he
had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly
desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: but when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right (wing) to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprize the Barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows ; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution ; and being now forced to fight close, they charged on both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued ; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army ; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before ; so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about ; and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon
the

the point of overturning the king, who, seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this fled as fast as possible, and, throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences.

Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry (posted to the right:) were carrying on the advantage they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right (wing) of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalized themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolomy the son of Seleucus lost his life, with an hundred and twenty more considerable officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously ; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians)
had

had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Theſſalian horſe, ſeveral of whoſe ſquadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuofity of the firſt charge, and oblige the Perſians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Perſians ſeeing this, were filled with boldneſs and confidence; and thereupon the greateſt part of them, advancing without order or precaution as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of purſuing the enemy. Upon this, the Theſſalians ſeeing them in ſuch confuſion, faced about on a ſudden, and renewed the fight with freſh ardor. The Perſians made a very brave defence, till they ſaw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Perſian cavalry compleated the defeat of the army. The Perſian horſe ſuffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in diſorder, and crouded in great numbers through paſſes, they bruised and unhorſed one another, and were more annoyed by their own ſoldiers than by the enemy. Beſides, the Theſſalian cavalry purſued them with ſo much fury, that they were as much ſhattered as the infantry, and loſt as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before obſerved, the inſtant he ſaw his left wing broke, he was one of the firſt who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horſeback, throwing down his bow, ſhield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to purſue him, till he ſaw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Perſian horſe put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thouſand of the Greeks that were in Darius's ſervice (with their officers at their head, who were very brave) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they fitted

fitted out as many of them as suited their purpose, and burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued.

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner ; and, being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia ; others ran into woods and lonely mountains ; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syfigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who also was his sister, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a son of his, (a child) and some Persian ladies. For the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents * were found in his camp ; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. (i) Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The † Persians, either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot ; but very few were killed on Alexander's side.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court and his chief officers to a feast, at which he himself was present, notwithstanding the wound he had

(i) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

* About 440000 l. sterling.

† According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Persians lost an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. And the former histo-

rian relates, that no more than an hundred and fifty horse, and three hundred foot were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.

received,

received, it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner set down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noise, intermixed with groans, which frightened all the company; inso-much that the soldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to assure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons, who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were dispatched to murder them; so that these princesses, being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent: but their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and intreated, that “ before he put them to death, they might be allowed

“ to bury Darius after the manner of their country ;
 “ and that when they had paid this last duty to their
 “ king, they should die contented.” Leonatus answered,
 “ That Darius was living ; and that so far from
 “ giving them any offence, they should be treated as
 “ queens, and live in their former splendor.” Syfi-
 gambis hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and
 permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raise her
 from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after visiting the wound-
 ed, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in
 presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most
 splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of
 distinction in the same manner, and permitted Da-
 rius’s mother to bury whatever persons she pleased,
 according to the customs and ceremonies practised in
 her country. However, this prudent princess used that
 permission in regard only to a few who were her near
 relations ; and that with such a modesty and reserve
 as she thought suited her present condition. The
 king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army,
 especially to the chief officers, whose actions he ap-
 plauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which
 he himself had been an eye-witness, as such as had
 been only related to him ; and he made presents to all,
 according to their merit and station.

After Alexander had performed these several duties,
 truly worthy a great monarch, he sent a message to
 the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay
 them a visit ; and accordingly, commanding all his
 train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied
 only by Hephæstion. He was his favourite, and as
 they had been brought up together, the king revealed
 his secrets to him, and * nobody else dared to speak so
 freely to him ; but even Hephæstion made so cautious
 and discreet a use of that liberty, that he seemed to

* Libertatis quoque in eo ad-
 monendo non alius jus habebat ;
 quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut ma-

gis à rege permissum quàm vindi-
 catum ab eo videretur. *Q. Curt.*

take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so. They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king, and paid him their respects as such: but some captive eunuchs shewing them Alexander, Syfigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that consideration would plead her apology. The king, raising her from the ground, *Dear mother*, says he, *you are not mistaken, for he also is an Alexander*: * A fine expression, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but † fortune had not yet corrupted his soul. He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowered him, and he became unable to resist her.

Syfigambis, strongly affected with these testimonies of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account. “Great prince, said she to him, what words shall I find to express my thanks, in such a manner as may answer your generosity! You call me your mother, and honour me still with the title of queen, whereas I confess myself your captive. I || know what I have been, and what I now am. I know the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find I can support all the weight of my present ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an absolute power over us, to make us feel it by your clemency only, and not by ill treatment.”

The king, after comforting the princesses, took Darius’s son in his arms. This little child, without discovering the least terror, embraced Alexander, who

* O donum inclitæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum! *Val. Max.* l. 4. c. 7.

† Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderatè & prudenter

tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. *Q. Curt.*

|| Et præteritæ fortunæ fastigium capio, & præsentis jugum pati possum. *Q. Curt.*

being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæstion, said to him ; *O that Darius had had some portion of this tender disposition !*

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all the kings his predecessors ; and was superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius's consort was the most lovely princess in the world, as he himself was the most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and most majestic shape ; and the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a sacred temple, and a sanctuary designed for the asylum of chastity, in which all the princesses lived so retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above-mentioned, which was a respectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a solemn resolution never to visit Darius's queen any more. (*k*) He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance, in a letter wrote by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of some foreign soldiers. In this letter the following words were read ; *For, as to myself, it will be found that I neither saw, nor would see, the wife of Darius ; and did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty before me.* We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been observed of the first (*l*) Scipio on a like occasion. *Et juvenis, & cælebs, & victor.*

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity ; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexan-

(*k*) Plut. in Alex.

(*l*) Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

der, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, how kindly soever he behaves.

SECT. VI. *Alexander marches victorious into Syria. The treasures deposited in Damascus are delivered to him. Darius writes a letter to Alexander in the most haughty terms, which he answers in the same stile. The gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him. Abdolonymus is placed upon the throne against his will. Alexander lays siege to Tyre, which at last, after having made a vigorous defence, is taken by storm. The fulfilling of the different prophecies relating to Tyre.*

(iii) **A**lexander set out towards Syria, after having consecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the first to Jupiter, the second to Hercules, the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, in which Darius's treasure was deposited. The governor of the city, betraying his sovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treasure and other rich stores of Darius. But being desirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in the city, so caused, by day-break, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burthens being frightened, threw them down, and fled away, as did the soldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himself, who was most terrified. On this occasion immense riches were seen scattered up and down the fields; all the

(iii) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332. Diod. l. 17. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. 2. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 1. Justin. l. 11. c. 10.

gold and silver designed to pay so great an army ; the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies ; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers : In a word, whatever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was, to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them, so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius ; the widow of this Ochus ; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius ; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There also were taken prisoners the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts ; three daughters of Mentor ; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general : insomuch that scarce one noble family in all Persia but shared in this calamity.

There also was found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Besides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. (n) We find by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in music ; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments ; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all things in the pastry

(n) Athen. l. 13. p. 607.

way, to preside over the wine-cellars, to give out the wine, and such-like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his destruction!

Darius, who, a few hours before, was at the head of so mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a desert or vast solitude. This ill-fated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the same road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horses. At last he arrived at * Sochus, where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thousand men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all possible haste to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he stiled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, “ to ask
 “ any sum of money he should think proper, by way
 “ of ransom for his mother, his wife and children.
 “ That with regard to their dispute for empire, he
 “ might, if he thought proper, decide it in one gene-
 “ ral battle, to which both parties should bring an
 “ equal number of troops: but that in case he were
 “ still capable of good counsel, he would advise him
 “ to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors,

* This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.

“ and not invade that of another ; that they should
 “ henceforward live as good friends and faithful allies ;
 “ that he himself was ready to swear to the observance
 “ of these articles, and to receive Alexander’s oath.”

This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer : “ Alexander the
 “ king to Darius. The antient Darius, whose name
 “ you assume, in former times entirely ruined the
 “ Greeks who inhabit the coasts of the Hellespont and
 “ the Ionians, our antient colonies. He next crossed
 “ the sea at the head of a powerful army, and carried
 “ the war into the very heart of Macedonia and
 “ Greece. After him, Xerxes made another descent
 “ with a dreadful number of Barbarians, in order to
 “ fight us ; and having been overcome in a naval en-
 “ gagement, he left, at his retiring, Mardonius in
 “ Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid waste
 “ our plains. But who has not heard that Philip, my
 “ father, was assassinated by wretches suborned there-
 “ to by your partizans, in hopes of a great reward ?
 “ For it is customary with the Persians to undertake
 “ impious wars, and, when armed in the field, to set
 “ a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even
 “ you yourself, though at the head of a vast army,
 “ however promised a thousand talents to any person
 “ who should kill me. I therefore only defend myself,
 “ and consequently am not the aggressor. And in-
 “ deed the gods, who always declare for the just cause,
 “ have favoured my arms ; and, aided by their pro-
 “ tection, I have subjected a great part of Asia, and
 “ defeated you, Darius, in a pitched battle. Howe-
 “ ver, though I ought not to grant any request you
 “ make, since you have not acted fairly in this war ;
 “ nevertheless, in case you will appear before me in a
 “ supplicating posture, I give you my word, that I
 “ will restore to you, without any ransom, your mo-
 “ ther, your wife and children. I will let you see,
 “ that

“ that I know how to conquer, and to oblige the
 “ conquered *. If you are afraid of surrendering
 “ yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my ho-
 “ nour, that you may do it without the least danger :
 “ but remember, when you next write to me, that
 “ you write not only to a king, but to your king.”
 Therfippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced ; but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred of the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke ; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city ; to these he offered the crown : but they refused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword ; “ Con-
 “ tinue (says he to them) in this way of thinking ;
 “ you, who before were sensible that it is much more
 “ glorious to refuse a diadem, than to accept it. How-
 “ ever, name me some person of the royal family,

* Et vincere, & consulere victis scio. 2. Curt.

“ who may remember, when he is king, that it was
 “ you set the crown on his head.” The brothers,
 observing that several through excessive ambition aspi-
 red to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile
 court to Alexander’s favourites, declared, that they
 did not know any person more worthy of the diadem
 than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great
 distance, from the royal line ; but who, at the same
 time was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread
 by day-labour in a garden without the city. His ho-
 nesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many
 more, to so extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his
 labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which
 had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of
 Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found
 him weeding his garden. They then saluted him
 king, and one of them addressed him thus: “ You
 “ must now change your tatters for the dress I have
 “ brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible
 “ habit in which you have grown old ; * assume the
 “ sentiments of a prince ; but when you are seated
 “ on the throne, continue to preserve the virtue
 “ which made you worthy of it. And when you
 “ shall have ascended it, and by that means become
 “ the supreme dispenser of life and death over all your
 “ citizens, be sure never to forget the condition in
 “ which, or rather for which, you was elected.”
 Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and
 unable to guess the meaning of it, asked, if they were
 not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as
 he made a greater resistance than suited their inclina-
 tions, they themselves washed him, and threw over
 his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with

* Cape Regis animum, & in
 eam fortunam, qua dignus es,
 istam continentiam preter. Et,
 cum in regali solio resideris, vitæ

necisque omnium civium dominus,
 cave obliviscaris hujus statûs in quo
 accipis regnum, imò hercule, prop-
 ter quem. *Q. Curt.*

gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it; but some murmured, especially the rich, who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear shewing their resentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be sent for; and, after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy * air
" and mien do not contradict what is related of thy
" extraction; but I should be glad to know with
" what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty.—
" Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear
" this crown with equal patience. These hands have
" procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed
" nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

(p) Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious,

(p) Diod. l. 17. p. 518—525. Arrian. l. 2. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678 & 667. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. 11. c. 10.

* Corporis, *inquit*, habitus, formæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris. *Tum ille*: utinam, *inquit*, eodem animo regnum † pati possim! Hæ manus suffecere desiderio meo. Nihil habenti, nihil cœsui. Q. Curt.

† The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal power as a burthen, more difficult to be borne than poverty: regnum pati.

laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe ; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the center of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master ; so that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too high an heart to put up such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other side, were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall an hundred and fifty foot high, which the waves of the sea washed ; and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre) a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to antient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them so haughty. Firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build work-houses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city ; so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away ; as also cramp-irons, and such-like instruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined, that there were essential reasons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was

* *Four furlongs.*

sensible that he could not invade Egypt easily, so long as the Persians should be masters of the sea; nor pursue Darius with safety, in case he should leave behind him so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or suspected to be so. He likewise was afraid, lest some insurrection should break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his absence the maritime cities of Asia minor, and increased their fleet, would make his country the seat of war during his being employed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him; and the Athenians sided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he would be able to dispossess the Persians of half their naval army, which consisted of the fleet of that province; and would soon make himself master of the island of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not resist him the instant he was become master at sea.

On the other side, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vigorously, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the success of the enterprize, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and superior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should not be able to take this city (which was not very unlikely) he would discredit his own arms; would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be seen hereafter, did not once permit those thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficulties which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reasons

1

reasons

reasons which should have prompted him to pursue quite different measures.

It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a bank which should reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west-wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall, which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few vessels he possessed lay at a great distance from him, and the siege of so strong a place might possibly last a long time, and so retard his other enterprizes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he sent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, exasperated at so cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raising a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in scripture for its cedars, furnished him with wood for piles, and other timber-work.

The soldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being

ing animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders ; and who, * knowing perfectly how to insinuate himself into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited some by praises, and others by slight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with pretty great speed, the piles being easily drove into the slime, which served as mortar for the stones ; and as the place where these works were carrying on, was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with ; because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were masters of the sea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding insults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's soldiers, " That it was a noble sight to see those conquerors, whose names were so renowned all the world over, carrying burthens on their backs like so many beasts." And they would afterwards ask them, in a contemptuous tone of voice, " whether Alexander were greater than Neptune ; and if they pretended to prevail over that god ?"

But these taunts did but inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last, the bank appeared above water, began to shew a level of a considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged perceiving with terror the vastness of the work, which the sea had till then kept from their sight, came in their ship-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. These boats were full of slingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire ; and being spread to the right and left about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded ; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows,

* *Haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos.* Q. Curt.

because

because of the great ease and swiftness with which the boats moved backwards and forwards ; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen ; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other side, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed some soldiers, who cut to pieces those that carried the stones : and on mount Libanus, there also were some Arabian peasants, who meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the same number. These small losses obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The besieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every stratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport-vessel, and filling it with brush, and such-like dry materials, made a large inclosure near the prow wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur, and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this inclosure they set up two masts, to each of which they fixed two sail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and such-like unctuous substances. They afterwards loaded the hinder-part of the vessel with stones and sand, in order to raise the prow ; and, taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to sea by the assistance of their gallies. As soon as they were come near the towers, they set fire to the vessel in question, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time, the sailors who were in it, leaped into the sea and swam away. Immediately the fire caught, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works which were at the head of the bank ; and then the sail-yards being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increased the flame. But, to prevent the
Macedonians

Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their galleys, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, insomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the bank; being either shot through with arrows, or burnt to death: whilst others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But as they were swimming away, the Tyrians, chusing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and, after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time the besieged, coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, tore up its stakes, and burnt the rest of the engines.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with so prodigious a speed, as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced these still more, than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abyss.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprize; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and, dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage
and

and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was sensible, that it would not be possible for him either to compleat the bank, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to assemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the same time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian fleet, joined him with theirs and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty sail. There arrived also, much about the same time, ten gallies from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty gallies.

The king, whilst his soldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lyfimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself † Phoenix. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and scarce able to walk, he by that means was separated from his little army. ac-

* Cities of Phœnicia,
was governor to Achilles.

† It is well known that Phoenix

accompanied only by very few soldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four thousand Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took some soldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards Tyre in battle-array. He himself was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance that made a great appearance, (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing) they kept all their galleys in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the great narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of galleys, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay,

clay, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards, heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole, thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew such branches to them as projected beyond the work; and, pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one *remora* to the carrying on of the work; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the besiegers arrows, stones, and burning torches.

At the same time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other side of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himself to attack the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that side which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any other part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which
could

could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because as the soldiers stood in ships, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor ; so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, and to station these crosswise, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian gallies. But still, divers came and cut them unperceived, so that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the sea, where it was not possible for them to do any further mischief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the vessels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invested on all sides, and attacked at the same time both by sea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) gallies, with four men chained to each oar, in such a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other sail-yards, which were fastened together by planks laid cross-wise, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on the space. The gallies being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot (under covert) against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as so many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to surround the walls, and make a general assault. The Tyrians now gave themselves for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The sea rises by insensible degrees ; and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, rise to a dreadful storm. The vessels dash one against the other with so much violence, that the
cables,

cables, which before fastened them together, are either loosened, or break to pieces ; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carry off the soldiers with them : for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer galleys thus fastened together. The soldier was a hindrance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier ; and, as happens on such occasions, those obeyed whose business it was to command ; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confusion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to tear their ships out of the waves. At last they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least succours, though they had promised such mighty things. Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner ; for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as * before for empire, but to save their country. And indeed the Syracusans were laying waste all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though frustrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wise precautions to send most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a secure asylum, what they most valued in the world,

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This Colossus had formerly stood

* See Vol. I. in the history of Carthage.

in the city of Gela in Sicily. (q) The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Christ, had given it, by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always considered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had set it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the Deity in question from leaving them. For these people were silly enough to believe, that after his statue was thus fastened down, it would not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities.

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; and this was, to sacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this sacrilegious custom from their founders, preserved it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed this cruelly-superstitious custom, a child would have been butchered on this occasion.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's fleet were dispersed up and down; and that he himself was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen galleys, all manned with choice soldiers who were used to sea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they found empty, and the rest had been manned in great haste. Some

(q) Diod. l. 13. p. 226.

of these they sunk, and drove several of them against the shores, where they dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this sally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable dispatch against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having also lost some of their ships.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them, by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and scythes to joists or beams: then straining their catapultas, (an enormous kind of cross-bows) they laid those great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or pensile scythes with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling these with burning sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention; for, the moment this burning sand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their
cloaths

cloaths to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated seriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go for Egypt : for, after having over-run Asia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded ; and lost, before a single city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other side, he considered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls : however, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after letting his forces repose themselves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger ; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the Argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a * partizan, as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers

* *A kind of halbert.*

which

which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard ; for, being immediately known by his *insignia* and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders ; killing, with javelins, several of those who defended the wall ; then, advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea ; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He soon went over it, by the assistance of floating-bridges, and followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches ; the fleet had forced into the harbour, and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy master of their rampart, retired towards an open place called Agenor, and there stood their ground ; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the sight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, seeing themselves overpowered on all sides, some fly to the temple, to implore the assistance of the gods ; others, shutting themselves in their houses, escape the sword of the conqueror, by a voluntary death ; in fine, others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Most of the citizens were got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced forward into the city.

The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants (those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the temples) and to set fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was published by sound of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms flew to the asylums. The temples were filled with such old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houses, in expectation every instant of being sacrificed to the rage of the soldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian soldiers who were in Alexander's camp, saved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiscriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians, Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon; they, for that reason, carried off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit, fifteen thousand were saved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatness of the slaughter, from the number of the soldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to six thousand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeased, he exhibited a scene which appeared dreadful, even to the conquerors; for two thousand men remaining after the soldiers had been glutted with slaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon crosses along the sea-shore. He pardoned the ambassadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis, to offer up a sacrifice to Hercules, according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thousand, who were all sold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was very inconsiderable.

(r) Alexander himself sacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He also solemnized Gymnastic exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of

(r) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

Apollo, above mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforwards be surnamed *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having sustained a seven months siege.

Thus was accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonosor had begun to execute those threats, by besieging and taking it; and they were compleated by the sad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and that the scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it; I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; in fine, its last re-establishment, but in a manner entirely different from that of others. Methinks, I revive on a sudden, when, through the multitude of profane histories which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say more, of the Almighty; the sacred scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a little extract of the history of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

* Or *Nebuchadnezzar*, as he is called in our version.

(s) Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem : for this reason it is called by Isaiah, *The daughter of Sidon*. It soon surpassed its mother-city in extent, power and riches.

(t) It was besieged by Salmanasar, and alone resisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phœnicians ; a circumstance which greatly heightened its pride.

(u) Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city ; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of *Palæ-Tyrus*, or antient Tyre : but the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begins the seventy years of obscurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, saved fifteen thousand of their citizens, (as was before observed) who, after their return, applied themselves to traffic, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application ; besides which, the women and children, who had been sent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of safety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had lost the empire of the sea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus besieged it with a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a

(s) A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1712. Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 3.
(t) A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 14.
(u) A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11.

second time to captivity, plunged it into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last converted by the preaching of the gospel, it became a holy and religious city. The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to shew.

(x) Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was considered as one of the most antient and flourishing cities of the world. Its industry and very advantageous situation had raised it to the sovereignty of the seas, and made it the center of all the trade in the universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia, and India, to the most remote western coasts; from Scythia and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the southern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendor and power. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these, I say, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other side, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring mankind with a love for ease, vanity, luxury and voluptuousness.

(y) A long, uninterrupted series of prosperities had swelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen, whose head is adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents are illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings; who sees every maritime power,

(x) Ezek. xxvi. *and* xxvii. *throughout*. Ezek. xxvii. 4—25.

(y) Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4. 25—32, 33.

either as her allies or dependents; and who made herself necessary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity, by her impiety against God, and her barbarity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, in the insulting words following. (z) *Behold then the gates of this so populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste.* (a) She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity, notwithstanding the alliance between them; with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies: (b) she likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

(c) This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, in order to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandizes and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.

(d) By this so unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will only directs the enterprises of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses, and

(z) Ibid. v. 2. (a) Joel iii. 2, 8. Amos i. 9, 10.
(b) Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10. (c) Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6.
Ezek. xxvi. 3—12, and 19. xxvii. 27, 34. (d) Ezek. xxvi. 15,
18. and xxvii. 33, 36. Isa. xxiii. 8, 9.

repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. (*d*) She still was puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches and splendor, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; (*e*) of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

(*f*) But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the east, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the false and imaginary supports of her own greatness: (*g*) Gods foretels her another chastisement, which he will send upon her from the west, near 400 years after the first. (*h*) Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow. *Tyre, possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets, and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who, being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation, cannot therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their land-forces.* (*i*) Tyre looks upon herself as impregnable,

(*d*) Isa. xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12.

(*e*) Ezek. xxviii. 2.

(*f*) Isa. xxiii. 13.

(*g*) Ib. xxiii. 11, 12. Ib. xxiii. 1.

(*h*) 1 Maccab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2, 5.

(*i*) Isa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13.

because

because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea as with a moat and a girdle: nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which served her as a second enclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during seventy years, to the mean condition of a slave. (k) *The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth.* (l) Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and she will prove to all cities a subject of sorrow and groans, by making them lose the present means and the future hopes of enriching themselves.

(m) To prove, in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible, and that all the strength and wisdom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for pride and the abuse of riches: Isaiah sets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been an example to her. * This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most antient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families, which she had brought forth and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire

(k) Isa. xxiii. 9.
ver. 13, 14.

(l) Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

(m) Ibid.

* *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised*

up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howel, ye ships of Tarshish: for your strength is laid waste. Isa. xxiii. 13, 14.

The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal ; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of providence, for wild beasts to dwell in ; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else to sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven against her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled ?

(*n*) To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during three-score and ten years. (*o*) But after this season of obscurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of a harlot, whose charms and artifices she shall assume ; she will employ her utmost endeavours to corrupt youth, and sooth their passions. To promote her commerce she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country ; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendor ; and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties ; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents ; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of seventy years.

(*q*) Thus, in proportion, as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she shall return to her former shameful traffic,

(*n*) Isa. xxiii. 15.

(*o*) Ver. 16.

(*q*) Ver. 17.

which

which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions she had applied to such pernicious uses.

(*r*) But at last, Tyre, converted by the gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those who serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them; but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the gospel.

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffic, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the same with private persons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit (from their industry, labour, and the success of their applications and conduct) to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after: but God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; as a woman, whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only soothes the passions and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every characteristic of chastity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

(*r*) Ver. 18.

SECT. VII. *Darius writes a second letter to Alexander. Journey of the latter to Jerusalem. The honour he pays to Jaddus the high priest. He is shewn those prophecies of Daniel which relate to himself. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but refuses them to the Samaritans. He besieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt and subdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Libya, where he visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and causes himself to be declared the son of that god. His return into Egypt.*

(s) **W**HILST Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he had received a second letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. “ He offered him ten thousand talents (thirty millions) as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune ; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberless troops, who were still under his command. Could he (Alexander) think, that it was so very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Hydaspes, which were as so many bulwarks to the Persian empire ? That he should not be always shut up between rocks and passes : that they ought both to appear in a plain, and that then Alexander would be ashamed to come before him with only a handful of men.” The king hereupon summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of those offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. *And so would I,* replied Alexander, *were I Parmenio.* He therefore returned the following answer ; “ That he did not want the money Darius offered him : that it did not become Darius to offer a thing he no

(s) Plat. in Alex. p. 631. Q. Curt. l. 4. cap. 5. Arrian. l. 2. p. 101.

“ longer possessed, or to pretend to distribute what he
 “ had entirely lost. That in case he was the only
 “ person who did not know which of them was supe-
 “ rior, a battle would soon determine it. That he
 “ should not think to intimidate, with rivers, a man
 “ who had crossed so many seas. That to whatsoever
 “ place he might find it proper to retire, Alexander
 “ would not fail to find him out.” Darius, upon re-
 ceiving this answer, lost all hopes of an accommoda-
 tion, and prepared again for war.

(*t*) From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerusalem, firmly resolved to shew it no more favour than he had done the former city ; and for this reason. The Tyrians were so much employed in traffic, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in their neighbourhood. (*u*) Galilea, Samaria and Judæa furnished them with the greatest quantities. At the same time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries : he therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, desired to be excused, alledging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius ; and persisted in answering, that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living : A rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledg-
 ed the true God ! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular ; for they submitted with chearfulness to Alexander, and even sent him eight thousand men, to serve at the siege of Tyre and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time ; and the cause of the strong antipathy between them and the Jews.

(*t*) Joseph. Antiq. 11. 8.

(*u*) 4th xii. 20.

I observed * elsewhere, that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Asaraddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called *Cuthæi*, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women; the evil however had spread so far, that the high priest's house, which ought to have been preserved more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. (x) One of the sons of Jehoida the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was so shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the country. (y) Manasses chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himself; he there settled them under the protection of Sanaballat his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia, had forced into Phœnicia) leave to build on mount Garizim near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem; and to appoint Manasses, his son-in-law,

* Vol. II. of the *Assyrians*.

(x) 2 Esd. xiii. 28.

(y) Joseph. Antiquit.

priest thereof. From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malecontents of Judæa. And it was this raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple ; and refuged all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judæa, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, had sent him a considerable body of troops ; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, should be alive.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus the high-priest who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty ; gave orders for the offering up public prayers to implore his assistance, and made sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him “ To
“ cause flowers to be scattered up and down the city ;
“ to set open all the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their
“ vestments, and all the rest clothed in white, and meet
“ Alexander, and not fear any evil from that king, in-
“ asmuch as he would protect them.” This command was punctually obeyed ; and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city
to

to an eminence called * *Sapha*, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians who were in his army, were persuaded that the wrath of this prince was so great, that he would certainly punish the high-priest after an exemplary manner, and destroy that city in the same manner as he had done Tyre ; and, flushed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people, to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As soon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they set out to meet him with all the pomp before described. Alexander was struck at the sight of the high-priest, in whose mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect ; bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise ; they could scarce believe their eyes ; and did not know how to account for a sight, so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. “ I do not, replied Alexander, “ adore the high-priest, but the God whose minister “ he is ; for whilst I was at Dia in Macedonia (my “ mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Per- “ sian war) as I was revolving the methods how to “ conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same “ robes, appeared to me in a dream ; exhorted me

* The Hebrew word *Sapha* signifies, to discover from far, as from a tower or centry-box,

“ to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont
“ boldly; and assured me, that God would march
“ at the head of my army, and give me the victory
“ over that of the Persians.” Alexander added, that
the instant he saw this priest, he knew him by his ha-
bit, his stature, his air, and his face, to be the same
person whom he had seen at Dia; that he was firmly
persuaded, it was by the command, and under the im-
mediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken
this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius
hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and
that this was the reason why he adored this God in
the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus
answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all
his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he
arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to
God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him
by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, shewed him those pas-
sages in the prophecy of Daniel which are spoken of
that monarch. I shall here give an extract of them,
to shew how conspicuously the most distant events are
present to the creator.

(z) God manifests, by the prophecy of Daniel, that
grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows
them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them,
in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his
wisdom and power solely determine the course of events
in all ages; (a) that he changes, by the meer effect
of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he
sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the antient ones,
and effaces them, even to the very footsteps of them,
with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest
chaff from the threshing-floor.

(b) God's design, in subjecting states to such asto-
nishing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in
his presence as nothing; that he alone is the most

(z) Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37.
32, 34, 35, 36.

(a) Ib. ii. 35.

(b) Dan. iv.

high, the eternal king, the sovereign arbiter ; who acts as he pleases, with supreme power both in heaven and in earth. (c) For the putting this design in execution, the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels being appointed as spectators and overseers of governments and kings, enquire into the use which these make of the authority that heaven entrusted them with, in quality of his ministers ; and when they abuse it, these * spirits, zealous for the glory of their Sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude ; and to humble their pride, by casting them from the throne, and raising to it the most abject among mankind.

(d) God, to make these important truths still more sensible, shews Daniel four dreadful beasts who rise from a vast sea, in which the four winds combat together with fury ; and, under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the characteristics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dreadful, but too real image ! For, empires rise out of noise and confusion ; they subsist in blood and slaughter ; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty ; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places ; but yet, in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes, and unforeseen destruction.

(e) The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with such of its characteristics, as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he shadows

(c) Dan. iv. 14.
4, 5, 6.

(d) Ibid. vii. 2, 3.

(e) Ibid. vii.

* It was at the desire of these angels, that Nabuchodonosor was driven from the society of men to herd with wild beasts.

Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests; flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themselves.

(f) To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the succession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the three first kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have rose to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, a soft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his projects.

(g) On the contrary, from among the Greeks in question, attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprizes; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: but at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendor and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the four

(f) Dan. xi. 2.

(g) Ibid. xi. 3, 4.

winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Asia minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or Barbarians, shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.

(*b*) In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet compleats the description in still stronger colours, the character, the battles, the series of successes, the rise and fall of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be composed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall consist in the union of these two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a series of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia minor and Thrace; that they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to subdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caspian sea; in fine, that they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the south, by subjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they shall not invade the nations of the east.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat of prodigious size; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immense marches in quest of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it shall advance towards this enemy with such rapidity, that it will seem only to skim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely subvert it by repeated victories, and destroy the double power of the Persians and Medes; during which not one monarch,

(*h*) Dan. viii.

whether

whether its ally or neighbour, shall give it the least succour.

But as soon as this monarchy shall have rose to its greatest height, Alexander, who formed its greatest strength, shall be snatched from it; and then there will arise, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to that of Alexander, will however be very considerable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a series of prophecies, all of them so clear, so exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies, which go so far as to point out, that a prince shall die without leaving a single successor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we must peruse these prophecies in the scriptures themselves. The Vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I shall translate * agreeable to the original text.

(i) *In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river a RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high: but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward: so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen*

(i) Dan. viii. 1—8.

* We have not followed Mr. Rollin's translation here, believing it more proper to make use of our own version of the bible.

standing

standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: but these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. All that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the conquests of cities; battles won or lost; empires established or overthrown; in all these, I say, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation so repugnant to religion and even reason itself, God breaks at every interval his silence, disperses the clouds which hide him, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretel a long series of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession,
and

and the different characteristics of the four great empires to which he is determined to subject all the nations of the universe, *viz.* that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks ; and, lastly, that of the Romans.

It is in the same view that he insists, very strongly, on the two most famous conquerors that ever existed ; I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other destroyer of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth ; prophecies, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories ; and relates the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen before. On this occasion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

These passages of scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious ; and serve as so many keys to open to us the path to the secret methods by which he governs the world. These faint glimmerings of light, should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly ; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires, of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may easily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial and advantageous promises. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bid them ask any favour whatsoever. They answered, that their request was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their ancestors had left them, and to be exempt, the seventh
year,

year, from their usual tribute ; and for this reason, because they were forbid, by their laws, to sow their fields, and consequently could have no harvest. Alexander granted their request, and, upon the high-priest's beseeching him to suffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to their own laws, he also indulged them in this particular with the utmost humanity ; and said further, that in case any of them would be willing to serve under his standards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worship, and to observe their respective customs : upon which offer great numbers lifted themselves.

He was scarce come from Jerusalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them also the honour to visit their temple. As these had submitted voluntarily to Alexander, and sent him succours, they imagined that they deserved his favour much more than the Jews ; and flattered themselves that they should obtain the same, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous procession above-mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city ; and the eight thousand men they had sent to serve under him, joined in the request made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteously ; but said, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lose ; however, that he would visit their city at his return, in case he had opportunity. They then besought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every seventh year ; upon which Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews ? they made an ambiguous answer, which the king not having time to examine, he also suspended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

(i) Upon his arrival before that city, he found it

(i) Diod. l. 17. p. 526. Arrian. l. 2. p. 101—103. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his sovereign, defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was employed; notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two wounds, he was resolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants and soldiers with a barbarity absolutely inexcusable; for he cut ten thousand men to pieces, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: *Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desiredst. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent.* Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but a haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his disdainful silence: *Observe, said he, I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? has he spoke but even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else.* At last, Alexander's * anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his soldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boasted his having imitated, on

* Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna. Q. Curt.

this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged, in the same manner, round the walls of Troy; * as if a man ought ever to pride himself for having imitated so ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more so, in causing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intrusted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza, to Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, (or hundred weight) of frankincense, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately achieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander take up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him: *Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please; but, till that day comes, be sparing of what you have.* The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: *I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the Gods.*

(k) As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to recognize him for their sovereign.

(k) A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Diod. lib. 17. p. 526—529. Arrian. lib. 3. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Quint. Curt. lib. 4. c. 7 and 8. Justin. lib. 11. c. 11.

* Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. *Horat.*

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that they valued very little who should be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves, and those who professed their religion, were treated. For, how false soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians) so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted ; nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion ; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the same mock of that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and assist him in expelling the Persians.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus ; and, having fled into Syria by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thousand men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burnt the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprise, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made public pretensions to the crown of Egypt ; declaring, that the motive of his coming was, to expel the Persians. Upon this, a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly, as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom ;

when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, they sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army; and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, he therefore set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy desarts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. (l) Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built in his honour in the midst of these desarts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues (m) broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεύς,

(l) Plin. lib. v. c. 9.

(m) Forty furlongs.

Jupiter, * and the Egyptians *Ammon*. In process of time these two names were joined ; and he was called *Jupiter-Ammon*.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in *Homer*, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as sons of some deity ; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for an hero, he was determined to have some God for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon *Jupiter-Ammon* for this purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design, which was great in no other circumstances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to assume, as *Plutarch* observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command ; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition ; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers ; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility ; in a word, which fancies itself able to force, not only enemies, but fortresses, seasons, and the whole order of nature ; the usual effect of a long series of prosperities, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourselves, have seen a famous † conqueror, who boasted his treading in the steps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of savage-heroism ; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

(n) Alexander therefore sets out ; and, going down from the river *Memphis*, till he came to the sea, he

(n) A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.

* For this reason the city of Egypt, which the scriptures || call No-Ammon (the city of Ham) or of Ammon, is called by the Greeks

Διόσπολις, or the city of Jupiter, || *Jerem.* xlv. 25. *Ezek.* xxx. 15. *Nabum* iii. 8.

† *Charles XII.* king of Sweden.

coasts it ; and, after having passed Canopus, he observes, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot he thought very well situated for the building of a city. He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the several places where the temples and public squares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Ephesus, the temple of Diana, which Herostratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards rose to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one side, and the Nile and the Red-sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the east and west ; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the most flourishing cities in the universe.

Alexander had a journey to go of sixteen hundred stadia, or fourscore French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon ; and most of the way was through sandy deserts. The soldiers were patient enough for the two first days march, before they arrived in the vast dreadful solitudes ; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded, as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited ; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least footsteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed ; and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They therefore were reduced to the sad condition of dying almost with thirst ; not to mention the danger they were in, of being buried under mountains of sand, that are sometimes raised by the winds ; and which had formerly destroyed fifty thousand of Cambyse's troops. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air become so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe ;

breathe; when, on a sudden, whether by chance, say the historians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the sky was so compleatly overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the sun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were still in prodigious want of water. But, the storm having discharged itself in a violent rain, every soldier got as much as he wanted; and some had so violent a thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and caught the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these marvellous incidents, with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in crossing these deserts, and, upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standards. These ravens, sometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched slowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, to serve them as guides, till they, at last, came to the temple of the god. A vastly surprizing circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sun-beams can scarce pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the *water*, or *fountain of the sun*. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer insensibly, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and, from the head to the * navel, resembles a ram. The king being come into

* This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

the temple, the senior priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter; and assured, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last, he enquired whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had been so faithful to his interest.

Swelled with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and fancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders and decrees he always wrote in the style following: (o) ALEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: in answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in few words, by desiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilst Alexander prided himself in these chimeras, and tasted the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the sequel will shew. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god, and of being persuaded, in case this were possible, that he really was such, he himself would also pass for a god; till at last, Providence having acted that part, of which she was pleased

(o) Varro apud A. Gell. l. 13. c. 4.

to make him the instrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the rest of mortals.

Alexander upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the *Palus Mareotis*, which is not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to the new city, part of which was new built. He took the best methods possible to people it, inviting thither all sorts of persons, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. (p) He drew to it, among others, a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only left them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same foot in every respect with the Macedonians, whom he settled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the use of *papyrus* (for writing) was found in Egypt; but this I shall mention elsewhere.

(q) During Alexander's stay in Memphis, he settled the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to entrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he invested one Doloaspes with the whole power of it; for, being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its antient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatsoever.

To hasten the building of his new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his

(p) Joseph contra Appian.
110. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 8.

(q) Arrian. l. 3. p. 108—

authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.

SECT. VIII. *Alexander, after his return from Egypt, resolves to go in pursuit of Darius. At his setting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He causes the several honours to be paid her which were due to her rank. He passes the Euphrates and Tigris, and comes up with Darius. The famous battle of Arbela.*

(r) **A**lexander having settled the affairs of Egypt, set out from thence about spring-time, to march into the east against Darius. In his way thro' Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and setting fire to the house in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conquests.

(s) He was scarce set out, but an eunuch brought word, that Darius's consort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Syfigambis, whom he found bathed in tears,

(r) Died. l. 17. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. 3. p. 111—127. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 9—16. Justin. l. 11. c. 12—14.

(s) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping ; and near them the son of Darius, a child, * who was the more worthy of compassion, as he was less sensible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly shewed that he himself was deeply and sincerely afflicted. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his consort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shewn her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with suspicions of so horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as follows. “ If thou dost still acknowledge Darius for thy
“ lord and sovereign, tell me, by the respect and ve-
“ neration thou owest to that great splendor of † Mi-
“ thres, which enlightens us, and to this hand which
“ the king stretcheth out to thee ; tell me, I say, whe-
“ ther in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not
“ bewail the least of her evils ; and whether, as she
“ fell into the hands of a young monarch, she did not
“ first lose her honour, and afterwards her life.”
The eunuch, throwing himself at Darius's feet, be-
sought him not to think so injuriously of Alexander's
virtue ; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her

* Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod
nondum sentiebat calamitatem,
maxima ex parte ad ipsum redun-
dantem. *Q. Curt.*

† The Persians worshipped the
sun under the name of Mithres,
and the moon under that of Mithra.

death; and not deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly persuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was superior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame related, concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were assembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: “Ye gods, who preside over the birth of men, and who dispose of kings and empires, grant that, after having raised the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I may transmit it to my descendants with the same lustre in which I received it; in order that, after having triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the favours which Alexander has shewn in my calamity, to persons who, of all others, are most dear to me: or, in case the time ordained by the fates is at last come, or that it must necessarily happen from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary vicissitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia must end; grant, great gods, that none but Alexander may ascend the throne of Cyrus.”

In the mean time, Alexander having set out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge that lay cross the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at last that there was no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle.

For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh: his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province; all who were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass: but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the east, this is the most rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but those also drag along great stones; so that it is named Tigris by reason of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander founded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horses' bellies, and in the middle to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half-moon, and posted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept themselves above water, because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their cloaths also, were much more fatigued; for these being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burdens. At the same time, the great number of cloaths floating up and down, beat away the burdens of several; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice,

voice, to save nothing but their arms; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them would listen to his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, recovering however but a small part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might easily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever so little opposition to their passage. But Mazæus, who might easily have defeated them, had he come up when they were crossing the river in disorder and confusion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle-array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus, in sight of so prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on the shore; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and streights quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This * circumstance may lessen our surprize at that excess of boldness, which was his peculiar characteristic, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greatest dangers; since, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite sullied, and, as it were, tinged with blood. Now as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which filled the army with sufficient disquietude; they were first struck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards seized with fear, they cried out, “That heaven displayed

* Audacie quæque, qua maximè viget, ratio minui potest; quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temerè fecisset. *Q. Curt.*

“ the marks of its anger ; and that they were drag-
“ ged, against the will of it, to the extremities of the
“ earth ; that rivers opposed their passage ; that the
“ stars refused to lend their usual light ; and that they
“ could now see nothing but desarts and solitudes ;
“ that, merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so
“ many thousands shed their blood ; and that for a
“ man who contemned his own country, disowned his
“ father, and pretended to pass for a god.”

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian soothsayers as were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon ; but, without entering into physical enquiries, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the side of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Persians ; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they gave as true and indisputable. Superstition has a surprizing ascendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headstrong and inconstant soever they may be, yet if they are once struck with a vain image of religion, they will sooner obey soothsayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called *Gordyæi*. At day-break the scouts, whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him ; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found that they were only a detachment of a thousand horse
that

that was going upon discoveries, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty * stadia from the place where they then were.

Not long before this, some letters had been intercepted, by which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind ; an attempt so abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it ; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers ; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow ; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counsel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms ; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humility towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former ; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys ; but now he added the several territories situate between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer : “ Tell your so-
 “ vereign, that thanks, between persons who make
 “ war against each other, are superfluous ; and that,
 “ in case I have behaved with clemency towards his

* Seven or eight leagues.

“ family,

“ family, it was for my own sake, and not for his ;
“ in consequence of my own inclination, and not to
“ please him. To insult the unhappy, is a thing to
“ me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or
“ women, and turn my rage against such only as are
“ armed for the fight. Did Darius sue for peace in a
“ sincere view, I then would debate on what is to be
“ done ; but since he still continues, by letters and by
“ money, to spirit up my foldiers to betray me, and
“ my friends to murder me, I therefore am deter-
“ mined to pursue him with the utmost vigour ; and
“ that not as an enemy, but a poisoner and an assassin.
“ It indeed becomes him, to offer to yield up to me
“ what I am already possessed of ! Would he be sa-
“ tisfied with ranking himself as second to me, with-
“ out pretending to be my equal, I possibly might then
“ hear him. Tell him, that the world will not per-
“ mit two suns, nor two sovereigns. Let him there-
“ fore chuse, either to surrender to-day, or fight me
“ to-morrow, and not flatter himself with the hopes
“ of obtaining better success than he has hitherto
“ had.” Darius’s proposals are certainly not reason-
able ; but then, is Alexander’s answer much more
so ? In the former we behold a prince, who is not yet
sensible of his own weakness, or, at least, who can-
not prevail with himself to own it ; and in the latter,
we see a monarch quite intoxicated with his good for-
tune, and carrying his pride to such an excess of folly,
as is not to be paralleled : *The world will not permit
two suns, nor two sovereigns.* If this be greatness, and
not pride, I do not know what can ever deserve the
latter name. The ambassadors having leave to de-
part, returned back, and told Darius that he must
now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp
near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bume-
la, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela.
He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon
for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and
cavalry might have full room to move in ; recollecting,
that

that his fighting in the streights of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared * crows feet to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades ; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break ; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle-array ; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted ; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched ; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them, that there was no occasion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory ; that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phœnicia or Egypt , but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer ; and that, after having gone through so many provinces,

* *Crows feet* is an instrument composed of iron spikes. Several of these are laid in fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses feet.

and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no other-wise than by gaining a compleat victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said, that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging, that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprize, and in the dark ; but the king answered so loud, that all present might hear him ; that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer ; for, it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be attacked at un-awares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the crisis of affairs used always to consult soothsayers, observing, very exactly, whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a battle, the success of which was to give empire to the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacrifices ; and afterwards offered up victims to * Fear, which he doubtless did to prevent his army from being seized with dread, at the sight of the formidable army of Darius. The soothsayer, dressed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle, which was upon the point of being fought, he could

* We must read in Plutarch $\Phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ instead of $\Phi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$.

not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly, the whole night, contrary to his usual custom: so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprized to find he was not awake; upon which, they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprized to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake: *How could it be possible, said Alexander, for us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands?* Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks; exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their antient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of a battle, imagine they see the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared so calm, so gay, nor so resolute. The serenity and security which they observed in him, were in a manner so many assurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at * least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse: but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; † an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry

* According to several historians, it amounted to upwards of a million of men.

† Nomina verius quàm auxilia.
Q. Curt.

on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle ; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them ; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the center of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person ; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them at one and the same time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged behind, to face about to that side ; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bow-men, slingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes ; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible ; but in such a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been shewn the several places where the crows feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them ; and the Persians advanced forward

ward in proportion. Darius, being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel-about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander dispatched against them the body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas ; but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry *. Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves, and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed : however, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his

* Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the charge.

white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been instructed by the king; and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory) he shewed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing) had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the center of their body. Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his scimitar, reflected, whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: but, perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was divided between hope
and

and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Syfigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed;) that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty. But this princess, who was a woman of great wisdom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and, being unwilling to exasperate, by too hasty a joy, a conqueror, who had treated her with so much humanity, she did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a single word; but, in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had dispatched a messenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. “Above all things, said the prince, let him not weaken his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply himself wholly to the engagement; for victory will not only restore us our own possessions, but also give those of the enemy into our hands.” The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the center of the second line, seeing the enemy were going to make them-

themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the orders which had been given ; and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire ; but, as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in ; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually pursuing Darius, and, fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to succour his left wing ; shuddering, with rage, to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him ; and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage ; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before ; for, the Barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them ; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling-about, according to their usual custom ; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost threescore of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded in it ; however, he triumphed on this occasion, and all
the

the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated ; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his side ; he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in disorder, so briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on so warmly should slacken on a sudden : however, like an able commander, who seizes every advantage, and who employs his utmost endeavours to inspire his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat ; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery ; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that instant, and, overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage ; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners ; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. (s) This en-

(s) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

gement was fought in the month of * October, about the same time, two years before, that the battle of Issus was fought. As Gaugamela in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.

SECT. IX. *Alexander possesses himself of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis; and finds immense riches in those cities. In the heat of drinking he sets fire to the palace of Persepolis.*

(t) **A**lexander's first care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalized themselves remarkably in battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Plataeans, declaring, that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece.

(u) He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though so many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who (whilst war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the rest of

(t) Diod. l. 17. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. 3. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1—7. Justin. l. 11. c. 14.
(u) Herodotus relates this history in very few words, l. 8. c. 47.

* The month called by the Greeks Boedromion, answers partly to our month of October.

the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and sailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue ; considering himself, says the same author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions ; to give immortality to merit, and propose them to posterity, as so many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer, * “ That life was not so dear to
 “ him, as to make him desire to preserve it by the
 “ destruction of so many thousands of his subjects and
 “ faithful allies, who, by that means, would be delivered up to the mercy of the enemy ; that they had
 “ as much right to pass over this bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that it ought to be as open
 “ to them.” After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory ; besides, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road, whereas in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease ; not to mention that the soil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich cloaths, and other precious movea-

* Non ita se salutis sue velle consultum, ut tot millia scelerum hosti objiciat : debere & aliis fugæ

viam patere, quæ patuerit filiis Jussis.

bles, with four thousand talents, (about 775000 pounds) and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies, which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain which throws out so vast a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most was, a great gulph, whence streamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhaustible spring ; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, *viz.* its catching fire so very suddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that surrounds the flame, and sets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians being desirous of shewing the king the strength and subtilty of this combustible substance, scattered several drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that street which went up to the house he had chosen for his residence. After this, going to the other end of the street, they brought torches near the places where those drops were fallen (for it was night ;) and the drops which were nighest the torches taking fire on a sudden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end ; by which means the whole street seemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered himself, with his children who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleased with his arrival ; for he would have

met with great difficulties in besieging a city of such importance, and so well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of great quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he set them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars which smoked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made the king, *viz.* herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians: it was customary for the latter to sing the praises of their king to their instruments; and the Chaldeans to observe the motion of the planets, and the vicissitude of seasons. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry, which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarce reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horseman six *mina*, (about fifteen pounds;) to each mercenary horseman

two *minæ*, (about five pounds ;) to every Macedonian foot soldier two *minæ* ; and to every one of the rest, two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, pursuant to the advice of the Magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished ; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. * They presented him with astronomical observations taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which consequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle.

The king resided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, to voluptuousness, and the most infamous excesses ; nor did ladies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum, or shew the least reserve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, so far from endeavouring to conceal them, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Asia, after having thus enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in the sloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been scarce able to compleat their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But, as they were reinforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible ; for

* Porphyry, apud Simplic. in lib. 2. de Cælo.

Amyntas brought fix thousand foot, and five hundred Macedonian horse, which were sent by Antipater ; and six hundred Thracian horses, with three thousand five hundred foot of the same nation ; besides four thousand mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with near four hundred horses.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, sons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. The youths in question waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns : and these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and the state.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But lest indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery ; and appointed, as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles ; for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of a thousand men ; whence those officers were called *Chiliarchi*. This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, consisting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves ; because they might perceive, very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour ;

circumstance, in which soldiers can never be imposed

posed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without shewing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the horsemen of every nation used to fight under his own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march; but, as it very frequently could not be well heard, because of the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a standard should be set up over his tent, which might be seen by his whole army. He also appointed fire to be the signal in the night-time, and smoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Susa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands; whether he were prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the hopes of plunder. The king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so famous, upon account of their exquisite taste. (x) The kings of Persia never drank of any other; and, whithersoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in silver vases. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing presents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants which Darius had sent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immense sums

(x) Herod. lib. I. c. 133.

out of the treasury, with fifty thousand * talents of silver in oar and ingots, besides moveables, and a thousand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for several centuries upon the common people, from whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were raised. The Persian monarchs fancied they had amassed them for their children and posterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right use of them; for Alexander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of the immense riches which he found hoarded up in Persia; and applied them to no other use than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found † five thousand quintals of Hermione || purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasuring up there during the space of one hundred and ninety years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and lustre was no ways diminished.

Here likewise was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent afterwards to Athens, where they were standing in ‡ Arrian's time.

The king being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of three thousand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thousand Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abutites.

* About seven millions five hundred thousand pounds.

† The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was sold at the rate of an hundred livres a pound. The quintal is an hundred weight of Paris.

|| Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the best purple was dyed.

‡ What Arrian ascribes here to Alexander in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other historians to other princes.

He left Darius's mother and children in Susa, and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Syfigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she fancied those stuffs, she might make her grand-children learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement; and to give them as presents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which fell from her eyes shewed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased at these gifts; the working in wool being considered by the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents, having told the king that Syfigambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus: "Mother, the stuff in which
 " you see me cloathed, was not only a gift of my
 " sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg
 " you to believe, that the custom of my country
 " misled me; and do not consider that as an insult,
 " which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe
 " I have not, as yet, done any thing which I knew
 " interfered with your manners and customs. I was
 " told, that among the Persians it is a sort of crime
 " for a son to seat himself in his mother's presence,
 " without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible
 " how cautious I have always been in this particular;
 " and that I never sat down, till you had first laid
 " your commands upon me to do so. And every
 " time that you was going to fall prostrate before me,
 " I only ask you, whether I would suffer it? As the
 " highest testimony of the veneration I have for you,
 " I always called you by the tender name of mother,

“ tho’ this belongs properly to Olympias only; to
 “ whom I owe my birth.”

What I have just now related, may suggest two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians (so vain and haughty in other respects) carried the veneration they shewed their parents. The reader, doubtless, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and the most exalted pitch to which fortune had raised him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, *viz.* of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent. * History informs us here, that, among the Persians, a son never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from so excellent an institution?

Secondly, I discover, in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in antient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in scripture to this purpose, concerning Rebecca, Rachel, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses drawing themselves water from springs; and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. † Here the sisters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making cloaths for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other cloaths but what his wife and

* Scio apud vos, filium in conspectu matris nescire esse confidere, nisi cum illa permittit. *Q. Curt.*

† Mater, hanc vestem, quam induitus sum, fororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus vides. *Q. Curt.*

sister made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years since, for the princess who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestic affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were designed by providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: but then, what has it substituted in the room of the harsh and vigorous exercises which a just education enabled the sex to undertake; to that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A soft indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversations, vain amusements, a strong passion for public shews, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex, and of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I also might add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Syfigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Pasi-Tigris. * Having crossed it with nine thousand foot and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of the *Uxii*. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madathes commanded this province.

* *This river differs from the Tigris.*

* This

* This man was not a time-server, nor a follower of fortune ; but, faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity ; and, for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter ; which they obtained, at last, by the intercession of Syfigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty ; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges ; would not suffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syfigambis have possibly obtained more from her own son on this occasion, had he been the victor ?

The *Uxii* being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain ; whilst himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse, had taken possession of those rocks which are craggy on all sides, and posted the Barbarians at the summit, out of the reach of arrows. He also had built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As soon as Alexander advanced in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of soldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded ; and it was with the utmost grief he saw himself

* *Haud sanè temporum homo : quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Q. Curt.*

not only stopt at this pass, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilst he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Grecian prisoner, surrendered himself to Alexander, with a promise to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the superintendence of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery, that their feet would scarce stand upon them; the soldiers were also very much distressed by the snows which the winds had brought together, and which were so high, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and, when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide, whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, sword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other the fright of those who were flying to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and seized the pass, which till then had resisted his attacks; and at the same time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Coenus and Polysperchon, and broke
quite

quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune, which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the * Araxes to cross, after which, the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of this march, and passed the Araxes, on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears: after which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they sported perpetually. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and, as they una-

* This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

nimously besought him to commiserate their condition, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and assured them, that they should again see their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arising on that occasion. “How will it be possible, said some of them, for us to appear publickly before all Greece, in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a condition still more shameful than dissatisfactory? The best way to bear misery, is to conceal it; and no country is so sweet to the wretched, as solitude, and an oblivion of their past calamities. Besides, how will it be possible for us to undertake so long a journey? Driven to a great distance from Europe, banished to the most remote parts of the east, worn out with age, and most of our limbs maimed; can we pretend to undergo fatigues, which have even wearied a triumphant army? The only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our misery, and to end our days among those, who are already so accustomed to our misfortunes.” Others, in whom the love of their country extinguished all other sentiments, represented, “That the gods offered them what they should not even have dared to wish, *viz.* their country, their wives, their children, and all those things for whose sake men are fond of life, and despise death. That they had long enough born the sad yoke of slavery; and that nothing happier could present itself, than their being indulged the bliss of going at last to breathe their native air, to resume their antient manners, laws and sacrifices, and to die in presence of their wives and children.”

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they besought the king to permit them to continue in a country, where they had spent so many years. He granted their request, and presented each
of

of them * three thousand drachmas ; five mens suit of cloaths, and the same number for women ; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to sow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to suffer them to be molested in any manner, and ordered that they should be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for Alexander to restore them the limbs, of which the Persians had so cruelly deprived them ; but then he restored them to liberty, tranquillity and abundance. Thrice happy those princes, who are affected with the pleasure which arises from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate !

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, represented to them, “ That
 “ no city in the world had ever been more fatal to the
 “ Greeks than Persepolis, the antient residence of
 “ the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire. For that it was from thence all those mighty
 “ armies poured, which had overflowed Greece ; and
 “ whence Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the firebrand of the most accursed war, which
 “ had laid waste all Europe ; and therefore, that it
 “ was incumbent on them to revenge the manes of
 “ their ancestors.” It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled separately, as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious soldiers soon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and published an order, by which his soldiers were forbid to violate the chastity of the women. Alexander had before possessed himself, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities ; but all this was a trifle compared to the treasures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a store-

* *About one hundred fifty pounds.*

house, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps ; not to mention the cloaths and furniture of inestimable value ; for this was the seat of luxury. There was found in the treasury one hundred and twenty thousand talents *, which were designed to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious sum he added † six thousand talents, taken from Pasagarda. This was a city which Cyprus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander's stay in Persopolis, a little before he set out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it mask'd, was Thais the courtesan, a native of Attica, and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner (a stratagem too often practised by women of that character) she said, with a gay tone of voice, " That it would be matter of inexpressible joy
 " to her, were she permitted (masked as she then was,
 " and in order to end this festival nobly) to burn the
 " magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burnt
 " Athens ; and set it on fire with her own hand, in
 " order that it might be said in all parts of the world,
 " that the women, who had followed Alexander in his
 " expedition to Asia, had taken much better vengeance
 " of the Persians, for the many calamities they had
 " brought upon the Grecians, than all the generals
 " who had fought for them both by sea and land." All the guests applauded the discourse ; when immediately the king rose from table (his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud accla-

* About eighteen millions sterling.
 † About nine hundred thousand pounds.

mations, and afterwards, singing and dancing, they surround the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds with lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great successes increased this beneficent disposition; and he accompanied the presents he made with such testimonies of humanity and kindness, and so obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young lords, who served under him as guards. Olympias, his mother, thinking him too profuse, wrote to him as follows: “ I don’t blame you, said she, for being beneficent towards your friends, for that is acting like a king: but then a medium ought to be observed in your magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches on them, you give them an opportunity of making a great number of friends, of all whom you deprive yourself.” As she often wrote the same advice to him, he always kept her letters very secret, and did not shew them to any person; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæstion drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which the king observing, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only his ring from his finger, he put the seal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very severe complaints upon that account, but he always submitted to her ill humour with great mildness and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, *Antipater does not know that one single tear shed by*

a mother, will obliterate ten thousand such letters as this. A behaviour like this, and such an answer, shew at one and the same time, that Alexander was both a kind son and an able politician ; and that he was perfectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested a woman of Olympias's character with the supreme authority.

SECT. X. *Darius leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed, and put in chains by Bessus governor of Bactria. The latter, upon Alexander's advancing towards him, flies, after having covered Darius with wounds, who expires a few moments before Alexander's arrival. He sends his corpse to Sysigambis.*

(y) **A**lexander, after he had taken Persepolis and Pasagarda, was resolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them ; then assembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: “ Dear companions, among so many thousand men who composed my army, you only have not abandoned me during the whole course of my ill fortune ; and in a little time, nothing but your fidelity and constancy will be able to make me fancy myself a king. Deserters and traitors now govern in my cities ; not that they are thought worthy of the honour bestowed on them, but rewards are given them only in the view of tempting you, and to stagger your perseverance. You still chose to fol-

(y) Diod. l. 17. p. 54c—546. Arrian. l. 3. p. 133—137. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 8—14. Justin. l. 11. c. 15.

“ low my fortune rather than that of the conqueror,
“ for which you certainly have merited a recompence
“ from the gods ; and I do not doubt but they will
“ prove beneficent towards you, in case that power is
“ denied me. With such soldiers and officers I would
“ brave, without the least dread, the enemy, how
“ formidable soever he may be. What ! would any one
“ have me surrender myself up to the mercy of the
“ conqueror, and expect from him, as a reward of
“ my baseness and meanness of spirit, the govern-
“ ment of some province which he may condescend
“ to leave me ? No—It never shall be in the power
“ of any man, either to take away, or fix upon my
“ head the diadem I wear ; the same hour shall put a
“ period to my reign, and life. If you have all the
“ same courage and resolution, which I can no ways
“ doubt, I assure myself that you shall retain your
“ liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and insults
“ of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the
“ means either to revenge or terminate all your evils.”
Having ended this speech, the whole body of soldiers
replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow
him whithersoever he should go, and would shed the
last drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery ; but Nabar-
zanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general
of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of
the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes,
and that was, to seize upon the person of the king and
lay him in chains ; which they might easily do, as
each of them had a great number of soldiers under his
command. Their design was, if Alexander should
pursue them, to secure themselves, by giving up Da-
rius alive into his hands ; and, in case they escaped,
to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown,
and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over
the troops, by representing to them, that they were
going to their destruction ; that they would soon be
crushed under the ruins of an empire which was just
ready

ready to fall ; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches: Though these practices were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made this answer : “ That it would be a less affliction to him to “ be deceived by, than to condemn them. That he “ would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his “ own nation, rather than seek for security among “ strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he “ might believe them : and that he could not but die “ too late, in case the Persian soldiers thought him “ unworthy of life.” It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counsel ; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to (z) Strabo, these treasures amounted to an hundred and eighty thousand talents (about twenty-seven millions sterling ;) and, according to (a) Justin, to ten talents more, (about fifteen hundred thousand pounds.) He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the *Cadusians*, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who stayed behind in Susa, where he fell sick, that as soon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the

(z) Strab. l. 15. p. 741.

(a) Justin. l. 12. c. 1.

forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caspian streights ; but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what dispatch soever he might make, staid there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caspian streights, and passed them the next. News was soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors ; that Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the surer of his person ; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a soul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march. The Barbarians, at his arrival, were seized with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting as for putting in execution the detestable act above mentioned ; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat ; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with such prodigious terror, that they all fled. Bessus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requested him to mount his horse and fly from the enemy : but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had suffered ; and beseeching Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid

* This is the city mentioned in Tobit, iii. 7.

crime, they separated, in order to leave different foot-steps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuit of the enemy, in case he should follow them ; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horsemen ; and, as the Barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders, they dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps.

After searching about in different places, Darius was at last found in a solitude, his body run through with spears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. He had a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and said : “ That in the deplorable
“ state to which he was reduced, he however should
“ have the comfort to speak to one who could under-
“ stand him, and that his last words would not be
“ lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander,
“ that he died in his debt, though he had never ob-
“ liged him. That he gave him a multitude of
“ thanks for the great humanity he had exercised to-
“ wards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose
“ lives he had not only spared, but restored them to
“ their former splendor. That he besought the gods
“ to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch
“ of the universe. That he thought he need not
“ intreat him to revenge the execrable murder com-
“ mitted on his person, as this was the common cause
“ of kings.”

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, “ Give
“ him, said he, thy hand, as I give thee mine ; and
“ carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able
“ to give of my gratitude and affection.” Saying
these words, he breathed his last. Alexander coming
up a moment after, and seeing Darius’s body, he wept
bitterly ;

bitterly ; and, by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given him, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body ; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he sent it to Syfigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and be entombed with his ancestors.

(b) Thus died Darius, the third year of the CXIIth Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, six of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign having been unsullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwise, from the perpetual war he had carried on against Alexander all the time he had sat upon the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the great (the founder of it) under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyfes, Smerdis Magus, Darius son of Hyftaspis, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II, Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, Darius Codomanus.

SECT. XI. *Vices which first caused the declension, and at last the ruin of the Persian empire.*

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be considered as the æra, but not as the sole cause of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this declension was prepared at a great distance, and car-

(b) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

ried

ried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire, and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, softness and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them; and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time. But, after those nations had subjected all things, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taste of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish delights with art and delicacy: and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world, being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enable to satiate all their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the consequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the splendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conquests; and when he shewed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He began, by inspiring them with an admiration for pomp and shew, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits,

and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that gust without reserve.

He also spread this evil, by his obliging judges, officers and governors of provinces, to appear in splendor before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside: and on the other side, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorised publicly, soon destroyed the antient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen, and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer discoursed of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those public schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces: their young men being brought up in splendor and effeminacy, which they now saw was had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new set of people, whose manners, inclinations and maxims were directly opposite to those of antient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people,

people, were the most abandoned to splendor, luxury, feasting, and even to drunkenness: So that we may affirm, that the empire of the Persians was almost at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its destruction in its own bosom, and this internal vice increased every reign.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes their successors became insensible to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to idleness and effeminacy: they grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular soldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks in their service; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: they were the only soldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have seen that Memnon the Rhodian was the sole great general who fought against Alexander.

Instead of chusing for the command of their forces, officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever surrounded, of guards, domestics, eunuchs and women; such an assemblage, formed merely for vain shew and ostentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army (already but too numerous) with useless soldiers, made it slow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of

subsisting long in a country, and of compleating great enterprizes in fight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs shutting themselves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themselves to pleasures; and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to slaves, and to flattering courtiers whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures, and to entrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to such whose abilities rendered them capable of serving their country.

Another character of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high sphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears soothed with false praises, and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in so exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as persuaded them that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their pleasures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wise and good government; the principles by which men judge of solid merit, and are capable of chusing persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power, merely to protect their subjects and make them happy. They were not made sensible of the exquisite pleasure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his subjects, and the public source of the felicity of so vast an empire; as Cyrus the Great had been, who was so dear to his people, that every individual family considered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to consist in making himself feared, and in his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to sustain the weight of so mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and painful an administration. Idleness, and a love for pleasure, made them careless, and averse to business of every kind; and they sacrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with such happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themselves to the allurements of a too despotic power, and an over-great prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their councils, to any expression delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their subjects, since their whole study was to aggrandize themselves, and to sacrifice all considerations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domestics and subjects; and did not find any where a sincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling splendor of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unweildy power, heightened by so much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; so that this colossus, at the very first blow, fell to the ground.

SECT. XII. *Lacedæmonia revolts from the Macedonians, with almost all Peloponnesus. Antipater marches out upon this occasion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which Agis is killed. Alexander marches against Bessus. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit him from a far country. Alexander, at his return from Parthia, abandons himself to pleasure and excess. He continues his march towards Bessus. A pretended conspiracy of Philotas against the king. He,*

and Parmenio his father, are put to death. Alexander subdues several nations. He at last arrives in Bactriana, whether Bessus is brought to him.

(c) **W**HILST things passed in Asia, as we have seen, some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that side; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponnesus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having settled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately dispatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to venture a battle. The Macedonian army consisted of no more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to signalize themselves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their respective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, fought with equal courage, the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains, after which, extending his whole army, he gained the superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his suit of armour, his noble mein, and still more

(c) A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. Died. l. 17. p. 537. Q. Curt. 1, 6. c. 1.

so by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself performed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his soldiers laying him upon his shield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage, for having seized an advantageous post where they kept close in their ranks, they resisted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedemonians began to give ground, being scarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with sweat ; they afterwards retired very fast, and at last ran quite away. The king, seeing himself closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last, oppressed by numbers, he died sword in hand.

In this engagement, upwards of three thousand Lacedemonians lost their lives, and a thousand Macedonians at most ; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the issue of this war, to declare themselves. Antipater immediately sent the news of this success to Alexander : but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the most modest and circumspect terms ; in such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was sensible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was so very great, that he looked upon the glory which another person obtained, as a diminution of his own. And * indeed, he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop some words which discovered his jealousy. Antipater did not dare to dispose of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedemonians

* Alexander hostes vinci voluerat ; Antipatrum vicisse, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur suædemp-

tum gloriæ existimans, quicquid cessisset alienæ. *Q. Curt.*

leave to send an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might tell him the ill success they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, some of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, and these he punished.

(d) Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had assumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia ; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions of all sorts to be brought thither.

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the soldiers, as if a signal had been made for their setting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmost dispatch, and fill the whole camp with noise and tumult. Alexander was soon informed of this, when terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of so glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by representing, that this sudden motion was a meer folly, and a transient gust of passion, which would not be attended with any ill consequences ; and assured him, that the soldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would address himself to them in tender expressions. He promised to do it. The circumstance which had given occasion to this false report, was, his having disbanded some Grecian soldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner ; so that the Macedonians imagined they also were to fight no more.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the following speech. “ I am not surprized, O soldiers, “ if, after the mighty things we have hitherto per- “ formed, you should be fatiated with glory, and have “ no other views but ease and repose. I will not now “ enumerate the various nations we have conquered. “ We have subdued more provinces than others have “ cities. Could I persuade my self, that our con- “ quests are well secured, over nations who were so “ soon overcome, I would think as you do (for I wont “ dissemble my thoughts) and would make all the “ haste imaginable to revisit my household gods, my “ mother, my sisters, and my subjects; and enjoy “ in the midst of my country the glory I have ac- “ quired in concert with you. But this glory will all “ vanish very soon, if we do not put the last hand to “ the work. Do you imagine, that so many nations, “ accustomed to other sovereigns, and who have no “ manner of similitude to us either in their religion, “ manners or language, were entirely subdued the “ moment they were conquered; and that they will “ not take up arms, in case we return back with so “ much precipitation? What will become of the rest “ who still remain unconquered? How! shall we “ leave our victory imperfect, merely from want of “ courage! But that which touches me much more; “ shall we suffer the detestable crime of Bessus to go “ unpunished? Can you bear to see the scepter of Da- “ rius in the sanguinary hands of that monster, who, “ after having loaded him with chains, as a captive, “ at last assassinated his sovereign, in order to deprive “ us of the glory of saving him? As for my self, I “ shall not be easy till I see that infamous wretch “ hanging on a gibbet, there to pay to all kings and “ nations of the earth, the just punishment due to his “ execrable crime. I do not know whether I am “ mistaken; but methinks I read his sentence of death “ in your countenances; and that the anger which

“ sparkles in your eyes, declares, you will soon im-
 “ brue your hands in that traitor’s blood.”

The soldiers would not suffer Alexander to proceed ; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how desponding a condition soever they might be, one single word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the *Mardi*, the *Arii*, the *Drangæ*, the *Arachosii*, and several other nations, into which his army marched, with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet shadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by representing him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who rushed forward with so much swiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

(e) Nabarzanes, one of Bessus’s accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania ; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an ascendant over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the same time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander, had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify

(e) Q. Curt. lib. 6. cap. 5.

her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him ; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and her self came forward with three hundred women ; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear, did not quite cover the body ; for their bosom being uncovered on the left side, every other part of their body was hid ; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and so descended no farther than the knee. They preserved their right breast to suckle their female offspring, but used to burn the left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * *Amazons*.

Thalestris † looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame ; for the Barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey, was to have posterity by him ; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place ; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors, as entirely fabulous.

* *This is a Greek word, signifying, without breasts.*

† Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus laudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omni-

bus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est ; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quàm quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est. 2. *Curt. lib. 6. cap. 5.*

Alex-

(e) Alexander devoted himself afterwards wholly to his passions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admired ; virtues so very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a series of prosperities. He now was no longer the same man. Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwise with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality ; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasures, women, and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece ; he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in publick. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mein that she was not of vulgar birth ; and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was granddaughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian scepter, and daughter of his son ; that she had married Hyftaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions ; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

(e) Q. Curt. lib. 6. cap. 6.

This

This prince was naturally of so tender and humane a disposition, as made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. (f) A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's use ; the beast being so tired that he was not able either to go on or sustain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a considerable way. Alexander seeing him just sinking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground in order to ease himself, cried out, *Friend, do not be weary yet ; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own.*

(g) Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a small body of horse, when he pursued Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-skins upon mules. These Macedonians perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst, occasioned by the raging heat (the sun being then at the meridian) immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to present him with it : Alexander asking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, *We were going to carry it to our children ; but do not let your majesty be uneasy, for if your life is but saved we shall get children enough, in case we should lose these.* At these words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he saw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held, swallow it, as it were, with their glances ; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who had offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, *There is not enough for my whole company ; and should I drink alone, it would make the rest be thirstier, and they will quite die away.* The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, intreated him, with shouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not spare them in any manner ; that now they

(f) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

(g) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

were not in the least tired, nor felt the least thirst ; and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.

Such sentiments as these, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greatest victories and conquests. Had Alexander always cherished them, he would justly have merited the title of *Great* ; but a too glorious and uninterrupted series of prosperity, which is too heavy for mortals to sustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man : For now, contemning the customs of his own country, as no longer worthy the sovereign of the universe, he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs ; looking upon them as too plain and simple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went so far, as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods ; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only slaves. He had turned his palace into a seraglio, filling it with three hundred and sixty concubines, (the same number as Darius kept) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not one of them however daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran soldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learnt in Susa and Ecbatana. The soldiers would frequently express themselves in the following terms : “ That they had lost
 “ more by victory than they had gained : that as the
 “ Macedonians had thus assumed the manners and
 “ customs

“ customs of foreigners, they might properly be said
 “ to be conquered. That therefore the only benefit
 “ they should reap from their long absence, would be,
 “ to return back into their country in the habit of
 “ Barbarians ; that Alexander was ashamed of, and
 “ despised them ; that he chose to resemble the van-
 “ quished rather than the victorious ; and that he,
 “ who before had been king of Macedonia, was now
 “ become one of Darius’s lieutenants.”

The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence : But * slavery, though purchased at ever so high a rate, must necessarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But, as the army was encumbered with booty and a useless train of baggage, that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army (such things excepted as were absolutely necessary ;) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this ; but, after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a sacrifice must certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance ; but the example the king set them silenced all their complaints, and they seemed less affected at the loss of their baggage, than at their neglect of military discipline. A short speech the king made, soothed all their uneasiness ; and, being now more able to exert themselves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this

* Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. *Q. Curt.*
 march

march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one except Alexander ; but nothing could daunt his soul, or check his progress ; for he put the strongest confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both himself and his army must have perished.

(*b*) Being arrived among the *Drangæ*, a danger to which he had not been accustomed, gave him very great uneasiness ; and this was, the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treason ; and the motive of it was, some private disgust which he had received. He had communicated his execrable design to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus his brother. The latter immediately whispered it to Philotas, earnestly intreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and that the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed on a great variety of subjects, but without taking the least notice of the plot. In the evening, Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and asking whether he had done as requested, he answered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be sure not to forget it ; and however did not perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him ; and fearing, that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by another person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore

(*b*) Diod. l. 17. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. 6. c. 7, 11. & l. 7. c. 1, 2.—Arrian. l. 3. p. 141, 142.—Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himself, and told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter guessing upon what account he was sent for by the king, ran himself through with his sword ; but the guards having prevented this wretch from compleating the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him, why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was, of the kingdom of Macedon ; but he was quite speechless ; so that after fetching a deep sigh, he turned his head aside, and breathed his last.

The king afterwards sent for Philotas, and speaking to him (having first commanded every one to withdraw) he asked, whether Cebalinus had really urged him several times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on against him. Philotas, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had ; but made his apology, by saying, that the person who had whispered this, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confessed however, that Dymnus's death plainly shewed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing so long a design of so black a nature : upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet ; which he embraced, and besought him to consider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unseasonably, the king, should he communicate a design, which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say, whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation ; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers ; and indeed it was hardly possible

ble it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of sweetness and humanity ; he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing so much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table ; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio his father, disgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him, * *My son, make thyself less.* The strongest sense is couched under these words ; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect ; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind ; and they cannot persuade themselves, that favour which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change ; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

(i) His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just reason to complain of him ; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, his father's services and his own : “ What would Philip, said he, have been, had “ it not been for Parmenio ? and what would Alex- “ ander be, were it not for Philotas ? what would be- “ come of his pretended divinity, and his father “ Ammon, should we undertake to expose this fiction ? ” All these things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herself made oath, that such words had been spoke. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of

(i) Plut. de fortun. Alex. c. 2. p. 339.

* Ω παῖ, χείρων μοι γίνε.

all this, nor so much as once let drop the least word which shewed his resentment upon that occasion whenever he was most intoxicated with liquor ; he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, not even to Hephaestion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council, composed of his chief confidants. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, “ The apprehensions he might justly be under, “ both from Philotas himself, because mercy is not apt “ to work any change in a heart, which could be “ corrupt enough to entertain so detestable a crime ; “ and from Parmenio his father, who, said he, will “ never be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his “ son’s life to the king’s clemency. Some benefici- “ al acts are so great, that they become a burden to “ those on whom they are conferred, for which rea- “ son they do all in their power to erase them from “ their memory. And farther, who can assure us, “ that both father and son are not engaged in the “ conspiracy ? When a prince’s life is in danger, every “ thing is of importance ; and all things, even to the “ slightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can we “ conceive it possible, that a favourite, on whom his “ sovereign has bestowed the most shining marks of “ his beneficence, should be calm and undisturbed “ upon his being told an affair of such mighty im- “ portance ? But we are told, that this design was “ communicated by young people, who deserved very “ little credit. Wherefore then did he keep them in “ suspense two days, as if he really believed what “ they told him, and still promised them that he would “ reveal

“ reveal the whole affair to the king ? Who does
 “ not see, that he did this merely to prevent their
 “ having access by another way to his majesty ? Sir,
 “ continued he, it is necessary, for your own sake
 “ and that of the state, for us to put Philotas to the
 “ torture ; in order to force from his own mouth an
 “ account of this plot, and the several persons who
 “ are his accomplices in it.” This being the opinion
 of all the members of the council, the king came into
 it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first en-
 joined them secrecy ; and the better to conceal his re-
 solution, gave orders for the army’s marching the next
 day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of
 guards having been posted in the several places neces-
 sary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then
 in a deep sleep ; when starting from his slumbers, as
 they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried,
Alas ! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has
got the better of your goodness. After this, they cove-
 red his face, and brought him to the palace without
 uttering a single word. The next morning, the Ma-
 cedonians, according to an order published for that
 purpose, came thither under arms, being about six
 thousand. It was a very antient custom for the army,
 in war-time, to take cognizance of capital crimes ;
 and, in times of peace, for the people to do so ; so
 that the prince had no power on these occasions, un-
 less a sanction were given to it by the consent of one
 of these bodies ; and the king was forced to have
 recourse to * persuasion, before he employed his au-
 thority.

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out ; very
 few then present knowing either what he had done,
 or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king
 came into the assembly ; an air of sorrow appearing in

* Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas.
 Q. Curt.

his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waiting for the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground; but at last, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech, “ I narrowly escaped, O
“ soldiers, being torn from you, by the treachery of
“ a small number of wretches; but, by the providence and mercy of the gods, I now again appear
“ before you, alive: and I protest to you, that nothing
“ encourages me more to proceed against the traitors,
“ than the sight of this assembly, whose lives are
“ much dearer to me than my own; for I desire to
“ live for your sakes only; and the greatest happiness
“ I should find in living (not to say the only one)
“ would be, the pleasure I shall receive, in having it
“ once in my power to reward the services of so many
“ brave men, to whom I owe all things.” Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the soldiers, who all burst into tears. “ Alas! how will you be-
“ have, when I shall name the persons who formed
“ so execrable an attempt? I my self cannot think
“ of it without shuddering. They, on whom I have
“ been most lavish of my kindnesses; on whom I
“ had bestowed the greatest marks of friendship; in
“ whom I had put my whole confidence, and in
“ whose breasts I lodged my greatest secrets—Par-
“ menio and Philotas.” At these names, all the soldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they saw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus were sent for, who made the several depositions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole assembly, being seized with a trouble and confusion easier conceived than expressed, continued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse, worn-out piece of cloth. How shocking a sight was this! Lost to himself, he did not dare to look up, or open his
lips;

lips ; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed ; recovering his spirits and his voice, by insensible degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking. The king then told him, that he should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have justified himself very easily ; for not one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who first formed it, had not named him to any of the conspirators ; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to engage them the more strongly. Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was sensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, sought earnestly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to dispatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark design in execution ? which he might very easily have done. Philotas set these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light ; and did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing, on a sudden, himself to Alexander, as if he had been present, “ O king, says he, where-
 “ soever you may be,” (for it is thought Alexander heard all that past from behind a curtain) “ if I have
 “ committed a fault in not acquainting you with what
 “ I heard, I confessed it to you, and you pardoned
 “ me. You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of
 “ this ; and you did me the honour to admit me at
 “ your table. If you believed me, I am innocent ;
 “ if you pardoned me, I am cleared, I refer all this
 “ to your own judgment. What new crime have I
 “ committed since ? I was in a deep sleep when my
 “ enemies waked me, and loaded me with chains.

“ Is

“ Is it natural for a man, who is conscious that he is
“ guilty of the most horrid of all crimes, to be thus
“ easy and undisturbed ? The innocence of my own
“ conscience, and the promise your majesty made me,
“ gave my soul this calm. Do not let the envy of
“ my enemies prevail over your clemency and justice.”

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas should be put on the rack. The persons, who presided on that occasion, were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at first, discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind ; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty ; named several accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in a full assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole, he was unanimously sentenced to die ; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to death, Lyncestes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and kept three years in prison.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio : whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the son to death. Polydamas, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to an hundred and fourscore thousand talents, about
twenty

twenty seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province ; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio ; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicions. Polydamas was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together, with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamas spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him, with an air of the utmost joy ; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had past on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In opening it, he asked him what the king was doing, to which Polydamas replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said as follows : “ The king is preparing to march against
“ the *Arachosii*. How glorious a prince is this, who
“ will not suffer himself to take a moment's rest !
“ However, he ought to be a little tender of himself,
“ now he has acquired so much glory.” He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name ; and, by his countenance, seemed pleas'd with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat ; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life ; a man illustrious both in peace and war ; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never atchieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities and execution ; was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him ; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their head,

head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threescore and ten years of age ; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded ; his son and himself having been put to death, merely on a slight suspicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services both had done their country.

(k) Alexander was sensible, that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order ; concluding therefore, that it would be proper for him to separate, from the rest of the army, such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas ; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus ; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangania, Arachosia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamisus (a part of Caucasus) where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, thirst, cold, and the snows ; which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him.

(k) Arrian. l. 3. p. 143, 148. Q. Curt. l. 7. c. 3—5. Diod. l. 17. p. 552, 554. A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

He indeed suffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repose for some time at Drapsaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about seven or eight thousand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Bessus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from crossing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raise a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and, not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts or floats of timber, he supplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins stuffed with straw, and such like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they crossed the river in this manner; those, who went over first, drawing up in battle array, whilst their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in six days.

Whilst these things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Bessus's chief confident, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having seized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and set him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the *Branchidæ*. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been intrusted. These received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surren-

dred both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved an hereditary hatred against the *Branchidae*, because of the treachery of their ancestors. They then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to surround the city; and, a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword, which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were these ill fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of 150 years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after Bessus was brought to Alexander not only bound, but stark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he said these words: “ I have, at
“ last, revenged both you and Darius, my kings and
“ masters. I bring you a wretch who assassinated his
“ sovereign, and who is now treated in the same man-
“ ner as himself gave the first example of. Alas!
“ why cannot Darius himself see this spectacle! ” Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Bessus and spoke thus: “ Thou
O 2 “ surely

“ surely must have been inspired with the rage and
 “ fury of a tyger, otherwise thou wouldest not have
 “ dared to load a king, from whom thou hadst re-
 “ ceived so many instances of favour, with chains, and
 “ afterwards murder him? Be gone from my sight, thou
 “ monster of cruelty and perfidiousness.” The king
 said no more, but sending for Oxatres, Darius’s brother,
 he gave Bessus to him, in order that he might suffer
 all the ignominy he deserved; suspending however his
 execution, that he might be judged in the general as-
 sembly of the Persians.

SECT. XIII. *Alexander, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxartes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, send ambassadors to the king, who address themselves to him with uncommon freedom. After having dismissed them, he passes the Iaxartes, gains a signal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanquished. He checks and punishes the insurrection of the Sogdians, sends Bessus to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.*

(a) **A**lexander, insatiable of victory and conquests, still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had suffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the * Iaxartes.

Not far from this river, the Barbarians rushing suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander’s forces, and having carried off a great number of prisoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in

(a) Arrian. l. 3. p. 148, 149. & l. 4. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. 7. c. 6—11.

* Quintus Curtius and Arrian calls it the Tanais, but they are mistaken. The Tanais lies much more westward, and empties itself,

not in the Caspian sea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

which

which were twenty thousand, who fought with bows and slings. The king went and besieged them in person, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was shot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point stuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so secretly but the Barbarians knew of it ; for they saw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they sent ambassadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he shewed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. These assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be ; and that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander ; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods : in a word, that being vanquished by his unparalleled bravery, they surrendered themselves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this, he set out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and foot, who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only : and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very considerable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took ; and after leaving a considerable garrison there, he burnt and laid waste all the plains.

There came an embassy to him from the (b) Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent : these submitted to Alexander.

(b) Abii Scythæ.

They were considered as the most equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themselves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar characteristic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and sent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

He had marked out a spot of ground proper for building a city on the river *Iaxarthes*, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and those he intended to subdue. But this design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was soon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander dispatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Bessus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king, greatly surprized at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the most signal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whose name it was called. At the same time he sent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to besiege the city of the *Memaceni*, to whom fifty troopers were sent, to desire them to sue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the sake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the besieged, but they were

fo

so blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his soldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was besieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander lost his best soldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with so much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his senses. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: but this prince, whom no danger or disappointment could depress, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardor. Having therefore caused the wall to be sapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Several other cities met with the same fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They lost above an hundred and twenty thousand men in these different sieges. The king afterwards sent Menedemus with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garrison, and shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he surrounded with walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing sixty* furlongs in circumference, which he also called Alexandria; having before built several of that name. He caused the workmen to make such dispatch, that in less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and the houses built: and indeed there was a great emulation among the soldiers, who should get his work done soonest, every one of them having had his portion al-

* *Three leagues.*

lotted him : and, to people his new city, he ransomed all the prisoners he could meet with, settled several Macedonians there who were worn out in the service, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of those Scythians, who live on the other side of the Iaxarthes, seeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they sent a great body of soldiers to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander, who had no design of attacking the Scythians, finding them make several incursions, even in his sight, in a very insolent manner, was very much perplexed ; especially when advice was brought him at the same time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obstacles would have discouraged any one but an Alexander ; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians also ; his army was harrassed by the Scythians ; he himself was brought so low, that he was not able to stand upright, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces, or give a single order. To increase this affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the passage of the river in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmost perplexity all night long ; however, his courage surmounted all things. Being told, that the auspices were not propitious, he forced the soothsayers to substitute favourable ones in their stead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and shewed himself to the soldiers, who had not seen him since the last wound he had received. These held their king in such high veneration, that only his presence immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects ; intreating him to lead them against the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they had

had made twelve thousand ; and also prepared a great number of skins for that purpose.

As every thing was ready for the march, several Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who all rode through the camp, desiring to speak with the king. Alexander having sent for them into his tent, desired them to sit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, being very probably surprized (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature) to find that his did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors made this speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part of it.

“ Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to
“ thy ambition, the whole universe would have been
“ too little for thee. With one hand thou wouldest
“ touch the east, and with the other the west; and,
“ not satisfied with this, thou wouldest follow the
“ sun, and know where he hides himself. Such as
“ thou art, thou yet aspirest after what it will be im-
“ possible for thee to attain. Thou crogest over from
“ Europe into Asia; and when thou shalt have sub-
“ dued all the race of men, thou then wilt make war
“ against rivers, forests, and wild beasts. Dost thou
“ not know, that tall trees are many years a growing,
“ but may be tore up in an hour’s time; that the lion
“ serves sometimes for food to the smallest birds; that
“ iron, though so very hard, is consumed by rust; in
“ a word, that there is nothing so strong which may
“ not be destroyed by the weakest thing?

“ What have we to do with thee? We never set
“ foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit
“ woods, be allowed to live without knowing who
“ thou art, and whence thou comest? We will neither
“ command over, or submit to any man. And that

“ thou mayest be sensible what kind of people the
 “ Scythians are, know, that we received from
 “ heaven, as a rich present, a yoke of oxen, a
 “ plough-share, a dart, a javelin, and a cup. These
 “ we make use of, both with our friends and against
 “ our enemies. To our friends we give corn, which
 “ we procure by the labour of our oxen; with them
 “ we offer wine to the gods in our cup: and with
 “ regard to our enemies, we combat them at a distance
 “ with our arrows, and near at hand with our jave-
 “ lins. * It is with these we formerly conquered the
 “ most warlike nations, subdued the most powerful
 “ kings, laid waste all Asia, and opened our selves a
 “ way into the heart of Egypt.

“ But thou, who boastest thy coming to extirpate
 “ robbers, thou thy self art the greatest robber upon
 “ earth. Thou hast plundered all nations thou over-
 “ camest. Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, in-
 “ vaded Syria, Persia, and Bactriana; thou art form-
 “ ing a design to march as far as India, and thou
 “ now comest hither to seize upon our herds of cat-
 “ tle. The great possessions thou hast, only make
 “ thee covet more eagerly what thou hast not. Dost
 “ thou not see how long the Bactrians have checked
 “ thy progress? Whilst thou art subduing these, the
 “ Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the oc-
 “ casion of war.

“ Pass but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the
 “ great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for
 “ thee to pursue the Scythians; and I defy thee ever
 “ to overtake them. Our poverty will be more
 “ active than thy army, laden with the spoils of so
 “ many nations; and, when thou shalt fancy us at a
 “ great distance, thou wilt see us rush suddenly on

* This is to be understood of the
 famous irruption of the Scythians,
 who advanced as far as Egypt,
 and possessed themselves of Upper
 Asia, for twenty-eight years. See

the second volume of this work, in
 the History of the Assyrians. I have
 not followed Q. Curtius literally in
 this place, his sense being pretty
 much embarrassed.

“ thy camp; for we pursue, and fly from our ene-
 “ mies, with equal speed. I am informed that the
 “ Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian solitudes,
 “ and that they are even become a proverb; but we
 “ are fonder of our desarts, than of thy great cities
 “ and fruitful plains. Let me observe to thee, that
 “ fortune is slippery; hold her fast therefore, for
 “ fear she should escape thee. Put a curb to thy feli-
 “ city, if thou desirest to continue in possession of it.

“ If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to
 “ mortals, and not deprive them of their possessions:
 “ if thou art a mere man, reflect always on what
 “ thou art. They whom thou shalt not molest, will
 “ be thy true friends; the strongest friendships being
 “ contracted between equals; and they are esteemed
 “ equals, who have not tried their strength against
 “ each other: But don't imagine that those whom
 “ thou conquerest, can love thee; for there is no such
 “ thing as friendship between a master and his slave,
 “ and a forced peace is soon followed by a war.

“ To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians
 “ will take an oath in their concluding an alliance.
 “ The only oath among them, is to keep their
 “ word without swearing. Such cautions as these do
 “ indeed become Greeks, who sign their treaties, and
 “ call upon the gods to witness them; but, with re-
 “ gard to us, our religion consists in being sincere,
 “ and in keeping the promises we have made. That
 “ man, who is not ashamed to break his word with
 “ men, is not ashamed of deceiving the gods; and
 “ of what use could friends be to thee whom thou
 “ couldest not trust? Consider that we will guard both
 “ Europe and Asia for thee. We extend as far as
 “ Thrace, and are told, that this country is contigu-
 “ ous to Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes only, di-

* Jurando gratiam Scythas sanc-
 cire ne credideris: colendo fidem
 jurant. Græcorum ista cautio est,
 qui acta consignant, & deos invo-

cant: nos religionem in ipsa fide
 novimus. Qui non reverentur ho-
 mines, fallunt deos. *Q. Curt.*

“ vides us from Bactriana. Thus we are thy neighbours, on both sides. Consider therefore, whether thou wilt have us for friends, or enemies.”

The Barbarian spoke thus: To whom the king made but a very short answer ; *That he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their counsel ; of his good fortune, by still continuing to rely upon it ; and of their counsel, by not attempting any thing rashly.* Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed such as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to secure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with soldiers, armed cap-a-pee. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoise, by which they defended the sailors who wore corslets. The like order and disposition was observed in the other rafts or floats which carried the horse.

The army found great difficulty in crossing. Every thing conspired to intimidate them ; the clamour and confusion that are inseparable from such an enterprize ; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it ; and the sight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the opposite shore. However, the presence of Alexander, who was ever the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own safety, and be concerned for his only. As soon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up together, when throwing their javelins with a strong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived, that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of shafts, began to retire, and draw their horses back, they leapt on the shore with incredible swiftness, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed

rushed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice ; but the example he set, spoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but shouts of joy and victory, whilst they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmost fury. The latter not being able to stand so fierce an onset, fled as fast as their horses could carry them ; for these were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till being at last quite spent, he was obliged to stop. After commanding his troops to pursue them as long as they could see, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged pretty close one to the other ; and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the pursuit carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp till after midnight ; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with eighteen hundred horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's side there were but sixty troopers slain, and about an hundred foot, with a thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians, all their prisoners without ransom, to shew, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory, had prompted him to make war against so valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished, greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible ; but, after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The *Sacæ*, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made

an apology by their ambassadors ; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being so happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him, he returned back and sacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, who were well-shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to sing songs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprized to see them go to death with so much gaiety, had them brought before him ; when he asked them, how they came to break into such transports of joy, when they saw death before their eyes. They answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death ; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of so great a monarch, who had vanquished all nations, they blessed this death ; a death so glorious that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would desire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should no longer be his enemies : they answered, he might be assured they had never been his enemies ; but that, as he attacked them, they had defended themselves ; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them farther, what pledge they would give him
of

of their faith and sincerity: “No other, answered
 “they; but the same life we receive from your good-
 “ness, and which we shall always be ready to give
 “back, whenever you shall require it.” And, in-
 deed, they were as good as their word. Four of them,
 whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to
 rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces
 in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having as-
 sembled all his generals, he commanded Bessus to be
 brought before them; when, after reproaching him
 for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be
 cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer what-
 ever punishment Darius’s mother should think proper
 to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of
 this execution. Several trees were bent, by main
 force, one towards the other; and to each of these
 trees, one of the limbs of this traitor’s body was fast-
 ned. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their
 natural position, they flew back with so much vio-
 lence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to
 it, and so quartered him. The same punishment is at
 this day inflicted on persons convicted of high-treason,
 who are tore to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Mace-
 donia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amount-
 ing to upwards of sixteen thousand men. By this
 considerable reinforcement, he was enabled to sub-
 due all those who had rebelled; and, to curb them for
 the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

(b) All things were now restored to a profound tran-
 quillity. There remained but one strong-hold called
Petra Oxiana, or the rock of Oxus, which was de-
 fended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty
 thousand soldiers under his command, and ammuni-
 tion and provisions for two years. This rock, which
 was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible
 only by a single path that was cut in it. The king,

(b) A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328.

after

after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it ; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those Barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner ; and, after using several insulting expressions, asked “ whether Alexander, who was able to do all things, could fly also ; and whether nature had, on a sudden, given him wings.”

Alexander was highly exasperated at this answer. He therefore gave orders for selecting, from among the the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the most active and dextrous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus : “ It was in your company, brave young men, that I stormed such places as were thought impregnable ; that I made my way over mountains covered with eternal snows ; crossed rivers, and broke through the passes of Cilicia. This rock, which you see, has but one outlet, which alone is defended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. There is no watch or centinel, except on that side which faces our camp. If you search very narrowly, you certainly will meet with some path that leads to the top of the rock. Nothing has been made so inaccessible by nature, as not to be surmounted by valour ; and it was only by our attempting, what none before had hopes of effecting, that we possessed ourselves of Asia. Get up to the summit, and when you shall have made yourselves masters of it, set up a white standard there as a signal ; and be assured, that I then will certainly disengage you from the enemy, and draw them upon myself by making a diversion.” At the same time that the king gave out this order, he made them the most noble

ble promises ; but the pleasing him, was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the noblest ardour, and fancying they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, cramp-irons and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march * at the second watch of the night, by that part which should seem to them of easiest access ; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They then took provisions for two days ; and being armed with swords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking some time on foot ; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some forced their wedges into the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raised themselves ; others thrust their cramp-irons into the stones that were frozen, to keep themselves from falling in so slippery a way ; in fine, others, driving in their wedges with great strength, made them serve as so many scaling ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold and wind. Nevertheless the hardest task was yet to come ; and the further they advanced the higher the rock seemed to rise. But that which terrified them most, was the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themselves might expect. Notwithstanding this, they still advanced forward, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpressibly weary, and many of them had even lost the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowsiness came upon them at the same time, so that, dispersing themselves in such distant parts of the rock as were free from snows,

* *About ten o'clock.*

they laid down in them, and slept till day-break. At last waking from a deep sleep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could lie hid, they saw smoke below them, which shewed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a desire of storming the fortress, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himself did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the first who perceived the signal. Nevertheless, he was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendor which breaks out at day-break; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had sounded the Barbarians, he dispatched him a second time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the strength of the place, he then was ordered to shew them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the summit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; representing to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great designs he meditated, by obliging him to make some stay before that rock. Arimazes sent a haughtier and more insolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, desired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he shewed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and said, in an insulting tone of voice, *You see that Alexander's soldiers have wings.* In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to sound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted aloud and cried, victory. These

These things, though of little consequence in themselves, did nevertheless, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into so great a consternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the summit, they thought themselves lost. Upon this Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were sent back with him, who agreed to surrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be spared. The king, notwithstanding the strong opposition he might meet with, was however so exasperated at the haughtiness of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other side, blinded by fear, and concluding himself absolutely lost, came down, with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not master of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses, at the foot of the same rock. The multitudes of people who surrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in those parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock, and the whole province round it.

SECT. XIV. *The death of Clitus. Several expeditions of Alexander. He commands worship to be paid to himself, after the manner of the Persians. Discontents arise among the Macedonians. Death of Callisthenes the philosopher.*

(c) **A**lexander having subdued the Massagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazarria. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer. Here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which

(c) Q. Curt. l. 8. c. 1—8. Arrian. l. 4. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. p. 693—696. Justin. l. 12. c. 6—7.

he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous size advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a single thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible, that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beasts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchased so dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled some tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his successor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rosaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, he covered the king with his shield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother. As the king, from these several considerations, had very great respect for Clitus, he entrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, begun to celebrate his own exploits; and was so excessively lavish of self-com-

* In quo Rex, cum multo incaluisse mere, immodicus aestimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat

cœpit: gravis etiam eorum auri-
bus, qui sentiebant vera memorari.
Q. Curt.

mendation,

mendation, that he even shocked those very persons
 who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest
 men in the company held their peace, till beginning
 to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted,
 “ That the famous victory of Chæronea was won by
 “ his means ; and that the glory of so immortal a
 “ battle had been torn from him by the malice and
 “ jealousy of his father. That in the * insurrection
 “ which broke out between the Macedonians and mer-
 “ cenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away after the
 “ wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid
 “ himself on the ground ; and could not think of a
 “ better method to save himself, than by lying along
 “ as dead ; that on this occasion he had covered him
 “ with his shield, and killed with his own hands
 “ those who attempted to fall upon him ; but that
 “ his father could never prevail upon himself to con-
 “ fess this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed
 “ that he owed his life to his own son. That in the
 “ war against the Illyrians, he was the only person
 “ who had done any thing, Philip having had no
 “ manner of share in it ; and hearing of the defeat
 “ of the enemy, no otherwise than by the letters he
 “ sent him. That the persons worthy of praise,
 “ were not such as initiated themselves in the † mys-
 “ teries of the Samothracians, when they ought to
 “ have laid waste all Asia with fire and sword ; but
 “ those who had atchieved such mighty exploits as
 “ surpassed all belief.”

These and the like discourses were very pleasing to
 the young men, but were very shocking to those ad-
 vanced in years ; especially for Philip's sake, under
 whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also
 was intoxicated, turning about to those who sat under

* This sedition is not mentioned
 in any other place.

† It was usual for generals, be-
 fore they set out on their expeditions,
 to cause themselves to be initiated in

these mysteries, and offer sacrifices
 to the gods who presided in them.
 Possibly Philip, by observing this
 ceremony, had delayed some enter-
 prise.

him at table, quoted to them a passage from * Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, “ That the Greeks had done
 “ very wrong in ordaining, that in the inscriptions
 “ engraved on trophies, the names of kings only
 “ should be mentioned ; † because, by this means,
 “ brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood.” The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said ? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time ; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiously vexed in his mind, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopt there ; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went such lengths, as to defend Parmenio publicly ; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians ; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardise the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause ; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger, “ It is nevertheless this hand, (said he to
 “ him, extending it at the same time) that saved
 “ your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the
 “ blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who
 “ are accused of cowardise, that raised you to this
 “ grandeur. But the tragical end of Parmenio shews,

* *In his Andromache.*
 gloriâ intercepti. Q. Curt.

† Alieno enim sanguine partem

“ what reward they and myself may expect for all our
“ services.” This last reproach stung Alexander :
however, he still restrained his passion, and only com-
manded him to leave the table. “ He is in the right
“ (says Clitus, as he rose up) not to bear freeborn
“ men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He
“ will do well to pass his life among Barbarians and
“ slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to
“ his Persian girdle, and his white robe.” But now
the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched
a javelin from one of his guards, and would have kil-
led Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers with-held
his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great diffi-
culty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it
that moment by another door, singing with an air of
insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who
seeing the general near him, struck him with his ja-
velin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the
same time, *Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to
Attalus.*

The king’s anger being in a manner extinguished,
on a sudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime display-
ed itself to him in its blackest and most dreadful light.
He had murdered a man, who indeed abused his pa-
tience, but then he had always served him with the
utmost zeal and fidelity; and saved his life, though he
was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed
the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by an
horrid murder, the uttering of some indiscreet words,
which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With
what face could he appear before the sister of Clitus,
his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her bro-
ther’s blood ? Upon this he threw himself on his
friend’s body, forced out the javelin, and would have
dispatched himself with it, had not the guards, who
rushed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and for-
cibly carried him into his own apartment.

He passed that night and the next day in tears. Af-
ter that groans and lamentations had quite wasted his
spirits,

spirits, he continued speechless, stretched on the ground and only venting deep sighs. But his friends, fearing his silence would be fatal, forced into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Aristander the soothsayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he saw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and seated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little easier in his mind. He next was addressed by two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderness, and endeavoured to suppress his grief, by agreeably insinuating himself, and endeavoured to make him recal his reason, by reflections of a solid nature, drawn from the very essence of philosophy, and by carefully shunning all such expressions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the gentlest hand. But Anaxarchus did not observe this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, *How! Is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, shedding floods of tears, like the meanest slave! Does not he know, that he himself is a supreme law to his subjects; that he conquered merely to raise himself to the exalted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to subject himself to a vain opinion?* The king was determined to starve himself; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little sustenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very justly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by asserting, that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all such reflections, against the cries of a justly-alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or false arguments!

It must be confessed, that Clitus had committed a great and inexcusable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in discourses calculated to fally the glory of Philip his benefactor ; but to shew his dislike of what was said, by a mournful but modest silence. He possibly might have been allowed to speak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had such a reservedness been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the sacred character of kings ; with regard to whom, how unjustly soever they may act, not only every contemptuous and insulting expression is forbid, but every disrespectful and unguarded word ; they being the representatives of God himself.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in some measure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a subject to a feast ; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in person excites him to quaff immoderately ; a king, on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his subjects to forget it also ; he gives a sanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights which wine commonly inspires : And should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself, for having first raised a subject so high. A fault committed under these circumstances, is always a fault ; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares * anger, when united to power, with thunder ; and indeed, what havoc does it not then make ? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness ! We see this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endea-

* Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate habitat iracundia. *Publ. Syr.*

voured to subdue those two vices in his youth ; † and to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors ? For it is asserted, that both were the consequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to excess ? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger ? || Alexander, who had overcome so many nations, was himself conquered by those two vices, which threw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he had endeavoured more to vanquish others, than to subdue himself ; not knowing, that to triumph over our passions is of all conquests the most glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits, marched into Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia ; whither some rebels were retired, all whom he subjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he set forward with his army, towards the rock Choriensis, of which Syfimethres was governor. All access to it seemed absolutely impracticable ; nevertheless, he at last got near it, after having passed through numberless difficulties ; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Syfimethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promised him very great advantages in case he continued faithful.

Alexander had resolved to attack the *Dabæ*, because Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them ; but the felicity which always attended him, spared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond, wretched

† Nec minùs error eorum no-
cet moribus, si quidem Leonides
Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Baby-
lonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam
eum vitiis imbuat, quæ robustum
quoque & jam maximum regem
ab illa institutione puerili sunt pro-

secuta. *Quintil.* l. i. c. i.

|| Victor tot regum atque po-
pulorum, iræ succubuit. Id enim
egerat, ut omnia potius habere
in potestate, quàm affectus—Im-
perare sibi, maximum imperium
est. *Senec. Epist.* 113.

life her husband forced her to lead ; and having often intreated him, but in vain, to surrender himself to the conqueror, she herself murdered him in the night ; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid spectacle, and ordered her to be drove ignominiously from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning, coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the soldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the soldiers ; so that they did not dare either to stand still or advanced forward. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood ; and so extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as soon as it fell. The sufferings of the army, on this occasion, were insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible to these calamities, rode up and down among the soldiers ; comforted and animated them ; and pointing at smoke which issued from some distant huts, intreated them to march to them with all the speed possible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means saved the army, but upwards of a thousand men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and soldiers, the several losses they had sustained during this fatal storm.

When they were recovered so well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the *Sacæ*, which he soon over-run and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty

was heightened by all the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations, in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his slaves his father-in-law: but as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to flattery and servile complacency.

In fine; having resolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs) that thirty thousand young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the several provinces, to serve him at the same time as hostages and soldiers. In the mean while, he sent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he easily defeated. Polysperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; so that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorn themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the swords of the soldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatsoever, in any circumstance, caused the swords of his soldiers to be set off with silver plates; put golden bridles to the horses; had the coats of mail heightened with gold and silver, and prepared to march for this enterprize, at the head of an hundred

* Sed, post Cliti caedem, libertate sublata, vultu, qui maxime servit, assuebantur. *Q. Curt.*

and twenty thousand men, all equipped with the magnificence above described.

All things being ready for their setting out, he thought proper to reveal the design he had so long meditated, *viz.* to have divine honours paid him; and was solely intent on the means for putting that design in execution. He was resolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter, as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue; and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

To * foorth and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed; would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them to a man refusing to vary, in any manner, from the customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the mean refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army! It was such creatures as these that placed him in the skies; and published wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, would resign their seats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greatest lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this, Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed

* Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciofa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes sapientius

assentatio, quàm hostis, evertit.
Q. Curt.

upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge and repay at a very easy expence, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer him as to a god, without the least scruple, since they believed him such. To this purpose he cited the example of the Persians. He took notice, that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had surmounted the envy of their cotemporaries. That in case the rest should not care to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himself was resolved to shew them the way, and to worship him if he should come into the hall. But that all of them must do their duty, especially those that professed wisdom, who ought to serve to the rest as an example of the veneration due to so great a monarch.

It appeared plainly, that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. (d) He was related to Aristotle, who had presented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia. He was considered, upon account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel, as was most capable of preserving him from those excesses, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: but he was accused of not possessing the gentle, insinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium, between groveling complacency, and inflexible obstinacy. Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to soften the severity of his temper; and foreseeing the ill consequences, with which his disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of † Homer to him.

My son, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

(d) Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. lib. 5. p. 303.

* Inter abruptam contumaciam ambitione ac periculis vacuum, & deforme obsequium pergere iter Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 4. cap. 20.

* Ὁξύμορος δὴ μοι τέχνην ἔσται, εἰ ἀγορεύεις. Il. 18. v. 95.

This philosopher seeing that every one, on this occasion, continued in a deep silence, and that the eyes of the whole assembly were fixed on him, made a speech, which appears to me just enough. However, it often happens, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insolence and rebellion. “ Had the king, said he, been
 “ present when thou madest thy speech, none among
 “ us would then have attempted to answer thee, for
 “ he himself would have interrupted thee, and not
 “ have suffered thee to prompt him to assume the customs of Barbarians, in casting an odium on his person and glory, by so servile an adulation. But
 “ since he is absent, I will answer thee in his name. I consider Alexander as worthy of all the honours
 “ that can be paid a mortal ; but there is a difference
 “ between the worship of the gods and that of men. The former includes temples, altars, prayers and
 “ sacrifices ; the latter is confined to praises only, and awful respect. We salute the latter, and look
 “ upon it as glorious to pay them submission, obedience and fidelity ; but we adore the former ; we
 “ institute festivals to their honour, and sing hymns and spiritual songs to their glory. The worship of
 “ the gods does itself vary, according to their rank ; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pollux, is
 “ not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We must not therefore confound all
 “ things, either by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raising a mortal to the
 “ state of a god. Alexander would be justly offended, should we pay, to another person, the homage
 “ due to his sacred person only ; ought we not to dread the indignation of the gods as much, should we
 “ bestow, upon mortals, the honours due to them alone ? I am sensible that our monarch is vastly superior to the rest ; he is the greatest of kings, and
 “ the most glorious of all conquerors ; but then he is

“ a man, not a god. To obtain this title, he must
 “ first be divested of his mortal frame ; but this is
 “ greatly our interest to wish may not happen, but
 “ as late as possible. The Greeks did not worship
 “ Hercules till after his death, and that not till the
 “ oracle had expressly commanded it. The Persians
 “ are cited as an example for our imitation ; but how
 “ long is it that the vanquished have given law to the
 “ victor ? Can we forget, that Alexander crossed the
 “ Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia, but Asia
 “ to Greece ? ”

The deep silence which all the company observed
 whilst Callisthenes spoke, was an indication, in some
 measure, of their thoughts. The king, who stood
 behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had
 passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, that
 without insisting any farther, he would only require
 the Persians to fall prostrate, according to their usual
 custom ; a little after which he came in, pretending
 he had been busied in some affair of importance. Im-
 mediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him. Po-
 lysperchon, who stood near him, observing that one
 of them bowed so low that his chin touched the ground,
 bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to *strike harder*.
 The king, offended at this joke, threw Polysperchon
 into prison, and broke up the assembly. However,
 he afterwards pardoned him, but Callisthenes was not
 so fortunate.

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a crime,
 of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of
 the young officers, who attended upon the king in all
 places, had, upon account of some private pique,
 formed a conspiracy against him ; but it was very hap-
 pily discovered, the instant it was to be put in ex-
 ecution. The criminals were seized, put to the
 torture and executed. Not one among them had ac-
 cused Callisthenes ; but having been very intimate with
 Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. Accordingly
 he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons,
 and

and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he insisted upon his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected so much dishonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjust and cruel death of Callisthenes. He truly merited the name of Philosopher, from the solidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the austerity of his life, the regularity of his conduct ; and above all, from the hatred he so evidently manifested for dissimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a supple, pliable, flexible turn of mind ; sometimes it must be of a knavish, and treacherous, at least of an hypocritical, flattering cast. He very seldom was seen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it ; and whenever he prevailed so far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy, silent air, was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was said and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too severe, he would have been an inestimable treasure, had he been possessed by a prince who hated falsehood : for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callisthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes, who know the value of such a virtue, and the use which ought to be made of it ? Truth seldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to those things which were for his true interest. From that instant, no one spoke with freedom in the council ; even those, who had the greatest love for the public good, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to deceive him. After this, nothing was listened to but flattery, which gained such an ascendant over that prince,

as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him, for having sacrificed to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the most virtuous man about his person.

I observe after Seneca, that the death of * Callisthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful soever, no military exploit, though of the most conspicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is said in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians ; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth ; conquered innumerable provinces and nations ; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the east : in answer to each of these particulars, *Yes*, says Seneca, *but he murdered Callisthenes* ; a crime of so heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

SECT. XV. *Alexander sets out for India. A digression with regard to that country. He besieges and takes several cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He crosses the river Indus, afterwards the Hydaspes, and gains a signal victory over Porus, whom he restores to his throne.*

(e) **A**lexander, to stop the murmurs and discontent which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he

(*) Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 9.

* Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Persarum multa millia ; opponetur, & Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat ; opponetur, & Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano

tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit ; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quàm scelus Callisthenis. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. 6. c. 23.

always,

always, when unemployed, lost part of the glory he had acquired in war. An excess of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition ; a project quite useless in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the antient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, as himself was, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them ; and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical design.

These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of such pretended heroes : and it is this which many people, dazzled by a false splendor, still admire in Alexander : a ridiculous desire of rambling up and down the world ; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations ; of treating all those as enemies, who should refuse to acknowledge him for their sovereign ; of ransacking and extirpating such as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions, and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the least shadow of reason. Add to this glaring injustice, the rash and stupid project he had form'd, of subduing with infinite labour, and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection ; and the sad necessity to which he was reduc'd, of being perpetually oblig'd to conquer them a-new, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India will exhibit to us, after I shall have given some little account of the situation and manners of that country, and some of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts : India on this, and India on the other side of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even so far as the Ganges. This first part is situated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, which

which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Persia: to the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the east, the Ganges: to the south, the Ocean or Indian sea.

(*f*) All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no slaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausolæum.

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the smallest, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel.

The second and greatest is that of the husbandmen. These are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and serve in the field in war-time: it is an inviolable law, never to molest them or their lands.

The third is that of herdsmen and shepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and seamen are included. These three last orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but those that make arms, who, instead of paying any thing, receive a stipend from the public.

The fifth is of soldiers, whose only employment is war: they are furnished with all sorts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free, and disengaged from cares of every kind.

(*f*) Arrian. de India, p. 324—328.

The sixth order is that of overseers, (*Ἐπίσκοποι*) who superintend the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are, exactness, sincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact ! However, this observation proves at least that truth and justice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insincerity were detested in it.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the public councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are taken magistrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea ; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are entrusted with the public monies.

These different orders of the state never blend by marriage ; and an artificer, for instance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen ; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades ; as every one added his own industry and reflexions to those of his ancestors which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only intreat the reader to observe, that in every wise government, every well-governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle, (two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance) have always been one of the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration ; and that the neglect of either, is er-
ring

ring against one of the most important maxims in policy.

I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the spot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges ; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority and the distance from a court frequently give occasion ; the only method, at the same time, for a sovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom providence has entrusted to his care. This care regards him personally ; and those who act under him can no more dispense with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains fall very often, whereby the crossing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alexander must have suffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in size. Some are thirteen or fifteen foot high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives sometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred and twenty years, nay much longer, if some antient writers may be credited. Its nose, called its trunk (*proboscis*) is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a * hand, which it moves with incredible agility and strength, and thereby is of prodigious service to it. The † elephant, not-

* Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad pastum. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* l. 2. n. 123.

† Elephantum bestiarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vastior? *De Nat. Deor.* l. 1. n. 97.

withstanding its prodigious size, is so tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were informed with something like human reason. It is susceptible of affection, fondness, and gratitude, so far as to pine away with sorrow when it has lost its master ; and even sometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have abused or murdered him in the transport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he struck one after the other in cadence with his trunk ; and that the rest danced round him, keeping time with a surprizing exactness.

He describes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians inclose a large spot of ground, with a trench about twenty foot wide, and fifteen high, to which there is access but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf ; in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raised, on the other side of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, and its entrance is very small. In this inclosure two or three tame female elephants are set. The instant the wild elephants see or smell them, they run and whirl about so much, that at last they enter the inclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down ; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the inclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long resistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in

2 case

case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they suffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and tamed insensibly by blows and hunger, till such time as they obey readily their master's voice, and perfectly understand his language.

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havock in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth or rather tusks furnish us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

(g) This prince having entered India *, all the petty kings of these countries came to meet him, and make their submissions. They declared, that he was the third son of Jupiter † who had arrived in their country: that they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwise than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and to enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdiccas, with part of his forces, commanding them to subdue all who should refuse to submit. But, finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused boats to be built, in such a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the several parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a slight engagement, he de-

(g) Quint. Curt. l. 8. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. 4. p. 182—195. l. 5. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697, 699. Diod. l. 17. p. 557—559. Justin. l. 12. c. 7, 8.

* *Quintus Curtius supposes, that several countries on the other side of the Indus, but adjacent to that ri-*

ver, belonged to India, and made part of it.

† *Could these Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?*

feated

feated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify on a sudden those nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. But, as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.

After subduing this nation, which was of great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nyssa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest that hid it. In the mean time, it grew so very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so excessive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion that it would be best for them to surrender, whilst others were for holding out the siege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared, that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for six days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

(b) He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards en-

ted. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no resistance was made any where, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several little cities the instant he sat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river * Choaspes, and left Cœnus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Magosa, whose king called Assacanus was lately dead, and Cleophes his mother ruled the province and city. There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for, towards the east, it is surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are steep, and difficult of access; and on the west are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which through length of time had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these fail, a trench, of an astonishing height, is raised with incredible labour.

Whilst Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without so much as binding up the wound, mounted his horse, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But, as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried: † *Every one swears that I am the son of Jupiter, but my wound makes me sensible that I am a man.* However, he did not leave the place till he had seen every thing, and given all the necessary orders. Some of the soldiers therefore demolished such houses as stood without the

* *This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.*

† *Omnes jurant me Jovis esse*

filium, sed vulnus hoc hominem esse me clamat. Senec. Epist. 59.

city, and with the rubbish of them they filled up the gulphs above-mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that in nine days the works were compleated, and the towers were raised upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, visited the works, and, after applauding the soldiers for their great dispatch, he caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who defended the walls. But that which most terrified the Barbarians, was those towers of a vast height, which seemed to them to move of themselves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that those battering rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never seen, could not be the effect of human strength; so that, persuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more secure there, they sent ambassadors to propose a surrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysperchon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition that Hercules having besieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its sides being perpendicular and high; and on the other side
were

were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a forest. This the king had cut down, commanding his soldiers, to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with less difficulty ; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days ; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, but this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger ; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was so slippery) fell down the precipices and were dashed to pieces. No fight could possibly be more dismal than this ; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings ; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock and the whole neighbourhood eccho with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surprized to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians
had

had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily in those precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them, fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus ; and after sixteen days march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole army ; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him by an interpreter : “ That he was come to meet him “ at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all “ his forces into his hands. That he surrendered his “ person and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he “ was sensible, fought only with the view of acquiring “ glory, and dreaded nothing so much as treachery.” The king, greatly satisfied with the frankness of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers ? he replied ; that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him. These two monarchs were Abisares and Porus, the latter of whom was most powerful, and the dominions of both were situated on
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the other side of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer himself to be exceeded in generosity.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their sovereign ; and after each party had promised fidelity on both sides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered with great coldness, that he would do so, but it should be sword in hand. At the same time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendance of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him ; and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot ; not having, at most, above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger size than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men ; so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous, notwithstanding

standing its great breadth ; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel ; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made, might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of prosperities ; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as their barks were so crazy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads ; and slight skirmishes were every day fought in the sight of the two kings, who were well pleased to make those small excursions of their respective forces, and to form a judgment from such skirmishes, of the success of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egesimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever successful, despised dangers of every kind. They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army ; and, with no other weapons than their javelins, swam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed ; where, with scarce any other assistance but their intrepidity, they made a great slaughter. After this bold stroke, they might have retired with glory, were it possible for rashness, when successful, to keep within bounds. But, as they waited with contempt, and an insulting air, for those who came to succour their companions, they were surrounded by a band of soldiers, who had swam unperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the darts which were shot from far. Those who endeavoured

voured to save themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprizingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity ; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole was but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no further notice of these motions, and only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than any of the rest. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river ; but that he would not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot, with

with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry ; and, wheeling off from the shore in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go ; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendor with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage in that place. He however was by this time got to the island above mentioned ; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. But now a furious storm arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it ; for so fortunate was this prince, that obstacles changed into advantages, and succours in his favour : The storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design ; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion and the darkness assisted his passage. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported that it was on this occasion he cried out, *O Athenians, could you think I would expose myself to such dangers, to merit your applause !* And indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his

name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides and Xenophon (*i*) ; and so anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into the world only so long as was necessary to know what kind of impression the perusal of his history made on the minds of men.

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent, because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his passage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of six thousand foot and five thousand horse. He himself headed the latter ; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable dispatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them ; and that, be this as it would, he might easily continue fighting till his foot should come up ; or, that in case the enemy, alarmed at the news of his passing, should fly, it would then be in his power to pursue, and make a great slaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them ; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men ;

(*i*) Lucian. de conscrib. hist. p. 694.

two were armed with bucklers, two bow-men fate on each side, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarce stand upon their legs ; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However, he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle-array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at a hundred foot distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants ; and much less their infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left ; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were

posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, as they were very much fatigued, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: But his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Coenus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Coenus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; insomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Coenus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had

thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but, that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopt by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which, the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, they did not observe their usual order; but, distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander en-

gaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bow-men of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius; who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus his old enemy; *How!* says he, *is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?* Immediately after which, he would have transixed him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince, and thereupon dispatched other officers, among

mong whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height *. Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions, ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? *Like a king*, replied Porus. *But*, continued Alexander, *do you ask nothing more?* *No*, replied Porus; *all things are included in that single word*. Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other, Bucephalon, in honour of his horse who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are astonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he sur-

* Seven foot and half.

mounts the greatest obstacles, and forces almost impregnable cities ; the uninterrupted and unheard of felicity that extricates him out of those dangers into which his rashness plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded he must a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious kinds of events, several of which are repugnant to the usual course of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the profane historians and to Alexander himself. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the minister and instrument of the sovereign disposer of empires, who raises and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same orders to overthrow the Persian and eastern empires, as Cyrus to destroy that of Babylon. The same power conducted their enterprizes, assured them of success, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission and compleated their ministry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God spake to Cyrus in Isaiah, (*k*) *Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him ; and I will cause the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut : I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths straight : I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treasures of darkness, and hidden treasures of secret places.—I girded thee, tho' thou hast not known me.* This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended ; of his unparalleled bravery ; the affection his soldiers had for him, the foreknowledge of his felicity, and his assurance of success, which astonished his most intrepid captains.

SECT. XVI. *Alexander advances into India. A digression relating to the Brachmans. That prince resolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raises a general discontent in his army. Remonstrances being made to him on that account, he lays aside his design, and is contented with*

(*k*) Ch. 45. 1—5.

going no further than the ocean. He subdues all things in his way thither, and is exposed to great danger at the siege of the city of the Oxydrucæ; and arriving at last at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe.

(k) **A**lexander, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with so much ardour and vivacity, that he seemed to fancy himself invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have considered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forbore visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the rest, the Caytheans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander set out against these Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

(l) One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamp'd against the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprized at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That no

(k) A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326. Q. Curt. lib. 9. cap. 1.

(l) Arrian. lib. 7. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. lib. 15. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. 8. cap. 9.

“ man possessed any more of that element, than he
 “ could enjoy : that the only difference between him
 “ and other men, was, that he was more restless and
 “ ambitious than they, and over-ran all seas and lands,
 “ merely to harm others and himself: And yet — he
 “ would die at last, and possess no greater a part of the
 “ earth than was necessary for his interment.” The
 king was not displeased at this answer: but he was
 hurried on by the torrent of glory, and his actions
 were the very reverse of what he approved.

These Brachmans, says Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the public sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves, pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over, and fills it with his majesty, and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philosopher, with some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the
 souls

souls of men transmigrate into those of beasts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the sun, and that in the season when this planet darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or sickness, they hold it glorious to prevent their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities and associate with their own species; and so far from considering self-murder as a virtuous or brave action; they look upon it as a weakness in man not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires in his Tusculan questions the invincible patience, not only of the Indian sages, but also of the * women of that country, who used to contest for the honour of dying with their common husband. This privilege was reserved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the sentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave a judgment till such time as they made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all sides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilst the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest

* Mulieres in India, cum est cujusque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim singulis solent esse

nuptæ. Quæ est victrix ea læta, prosequentibus suis, unâ cum viro in rogam imponitur: illa victa, mœsta discedit. *Tusc. Quæst. lib. 5. n. 78.*

transports

transports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The description which (*m*) Porphyrius has left us of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots and fruits. They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray perpetually. The greatest part of them live alone and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor profess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will leave the body.

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called *Bramins*; and retain in many points, the tradition and tenets of the antient Brachmans.

Alexander, passing near a city wherein several of these Brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus's cloaths and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anti-

(*m*) Lib. de Abstin. Animal.

“ ently the earth had been covered with barley and
 “ wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that be-
 “ sides water, the rivers used to flow with milk,
 “ honey, oil and wine. That man’s guilt had oc-
 “ casioned a change of this happy condition; and
 “ that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sen-
 “ tenced them to a long, painful labour. That their
 “ repentance afterwards moving him to compassion,
 “ he had restored them their former abundance; how-
 “ ever, that by the course of things, they seemed to
 “ be returning to their antient confusion.” This re-
 lation shews evidently, that these philosophers had
 some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of
 the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

After this first conversation, Onesicritus spoke to
 Mandanis, the chief, and as it were, the superior of
 the band. This Brachman said, “ That he thought
 “ Alexander worthy of admiration, in seeking thus
 “ for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his govern-
 “ ment: * that he was the first, who had ever united
 “ in himself the two characters of conqueror and phi-
 “ losopher; that it were to be wished, that the latter
 “ character were the attribute of those who could in-
 “ spire the wisdom which they themselves possessed,
 “ and command it by their authority.” He added,
 That he could not conceive the motive which had
 prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious
 a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so re-
 mote a country.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to
 quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of
 Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a ge-
 nerous master and benefactor, who would heap upon
 them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Manda-
 nis assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered,
 “ That he did not want Alexander, and was the son
 “ of Jupiter as well as himself: That he was ex-
 “ empted from want, desire or fear: That so long

* Μόνον γὰρ ἴδοι αὐτὸν ἐν ὅπλοις φιλοσοφῶντα.

“ as he should live the earth would furnish him all
 “ things necessary for his subsistence, and that death
 “ would rid him of a troublesome companion (mean-
 “ ing his body) and set him at full liberty.” Caladus appeared more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander’s court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by history, that this people used often to employ parables and similitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide being pressed so gave way, and all the other ends flew up: going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several ends of it, he made him observe, that whilst he lowered it on one side, all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reside in the center of his dominions, and not undertake such long journeys. We shall soon shew the reader, the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

(*n*) Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independent on him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasus. He was told, that after passing that river he must travel eleven days through desarts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the

(*n*) Q. Curt. l. 9. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. 5. p. 221—234. & l. 6. p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. 17. p. 559—570. Justin. l. 12. c. 9, 10.

Gangaridæ and the *Prasii*, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two thousand chariots; and, which struck the greatest terror, with three thousand elephants. A report of this being spread through the army, surprized all the soldiers, and raised a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through so many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that secret assemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them, sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the soldiers together, he made the following speech: “ I am not
“ ignorant, O soldiers, that the Indians have published several things, purposely to terrify us; but
“ such discourses and artifices are not unusual to you.
“ Thus the Persians described the straits at Cilicia,
“ the vast plains of Mesopotamia, the rivers Tygris
“ and Euphrates, as so many insurmountable difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them. Do
“ you repent you have followed me thus far? As your
“ glorious deeds have subdued for you a multitude of
“ provinces, as you have extended your conquests beyond the Iaxartes and mount Caucasus; as you see
“ the rivers of India flow through the midst of your
“ empire; why are you afraid of crossing the Hyphasus, and of setting up your trophies on the
“ banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes? What!
“ can

“ can the elephants, whose number is so falsely aug-
 “ mented, terrify you to such a degree? But has not
 “ experience taught you, that they are more destruc-
 “ tive to their own masters than to the enemy? En-
 “ deavours are used to intimidate you by the dreadful
 “ idea of innumerable armies; but are they more nu-
 “ merous than those of Darius? It is sure very late
 “ for you to count the legions of the enemy, after
 “ your victories have made Asia a desert. It was
 “ when you crossed the Hellespont that you ought to
 “ have reflected on the small number of our forces;
 “ but now, the Scythians form part of our army;
 “ the Bactrians, the Sogdians and the *Dahæ* are with
 “ us, and fight for our glory. I, however, do not
 “ depend on those Barbarians. It is on you only that
 “ I rely; your victorious arms only are present to
 “ my imagination, and your courage alone assures me
 “ success. So long as I shall be surrounded with
 “ you in fight, I shall not have any occasion to count
 “ the number of my troops nor that of the enemy,
 “ provided you go on to battle with the same marks
 “ of joy and confidence you have hitherto discovered.
 “ Not only our glory, but even our safety is at stake.
 “ Should we now retreat, it will be supposed that we
 “ fly before our enemies, and from that moment we
 “ shall appear as mean as the enemy will be judged
 “ formidable; for you are sensible, that in war repu-
 “ tation is every thing. It is in my power to make
 “ use of authority, and yet I employ entreaties only.
 “ Do not abandon (I conjure you) I do not say your
 “ king and master, but your pupil and companion in
 “ battles. Do not break to pieces in my hand that
 “ glorious palm, which will soon, unless envy rob me
 “ of so great a glory, equal me to Hercules and to
 “ Bacchus.” As the soldiers stood with their eyes
 cast on the ground, and did not once open their
 lips; “ What! continued he, do I then speak to the
 “ deaf? Will no one listen to me, nor condescend to
 “ answer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am betrayed,
 “ I am

“ I am delivered up to the enemy. But—I will ad-
 “ vance still further, though I go alone. The Scy-
 “ thians and Bactrians, more faithful than you, will
 “ follow me whithersoever I lead them. Return
 “ then to your country, and boast, ye deserters of
 “ your king, that you abandoned him. As for my-
 “ self, I will here meet either with the victory you
 “ despair of, or with a glorious death, which hence-
 “ forwards ought to be the sole object of my wishes.”

Notwithstanding this lively, pathetic speech, the
 soldiers still kept a profound silence. They waited in
 expectation of hearing their commanders and chief of-
 ficers remonstrate to the king, that their affection was
 as strong as ever; but that, as their bodies were co-
 vered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would
 be impossible for them to continue the war. Howe-
 ver, not one of them presumed to address him in their
 favour. The examples of Clitus, and that of Cal-
 listhenes, were still recent. The officers, who were
 then with him, had a hundred times ventured their
 lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the
 courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by tel-
 ling him the truth. Whilst therefore the soldiers, as
 well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring
 to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a mur-
 mur, which increasing by insensible degrees, broke
 into such deep groans and floods of tears, that the
 king himself, whose anger was now changed into com-
 passion, could not forbear weeping.

At last, whilst the whole assembly were in tears, and
 in deep silence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near
 to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he
 desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take
 off his helmet, that being the custom when any person
 spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the
 cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as fol-
 lows: “ No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to
 “ our affection for you: God forbid that so great a
 “ calamity should ever befall us. We shall always re-
 “ tain

“tain the same zeal, the same affection and fidelity.
 “We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our
 “lives, and to march whithersoever you shall think
 “fit to lead us. But if your soldiers may be allowed
 “to lay before you their sentiments sincerely, and
 “without disguise, they beseech you to condescend so
 “far as to give ear to their respectful complaints,
 “which nothing but the most extreme necessity could
 “have extorted from them. The greatness, Sir, of
 “your exploits has conquered, not only your ene-
 “mies, but even your soldiers themselves. We have
 “done all that it was possible for men to do. We
 “have crossed seas and lands. We shall soon have
 “marched to the end of the world; and you are me-
 “ditating the conquest of another, by going in
 “search of new Indias, unknown to the Indians
 “themselves. Such a thought may be worthy of your
 “valour, but it surpasses ours, and our strength still
 “more. Behold those ghastly faces, and those bodies
 “covered over with wounds and scars. You are sen-
 “sible how numerous we were at your first setting
 “out, and you see what now remains of us. The
 “few, who have escaped so many toils and dangers,
 “are neither brave nor strong enough to follow you.
 “All of them long to revisit their relations and coun-
 “try, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours
 “and your victories. Forgive them a desire natural
 “to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to
 “have fixed such boundaries to your fortune, as only
 “your moderation could prescribe you; and to have
 “vanquished yourself, after having conquered all your
 “enemies.”

Cœnus had no sooner spoke, but there were heard,
 on all sides, cries and confused voices intermixed with
 tears, calling upon the king as *their lord and their fa-
 ther*. Afterwards, all the rest of the officers, especi-
 ally those who assumed a greater authority because of
 their age, and for that reason could be better excused
 the freedom they took, made the same humble re-
 quest:

quest: but still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore shut himself up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to see whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on such occasions. But, finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he designed, for the sake of his subjects, to sacrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praises and blessings of Alexander, for having suffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applauses that come from the heart, and which are the lively and sincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not spent above three or four months, at most, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphalus, called to this day *Pengab*, that is, *the five waters*, from the five rivers which compose it. Before his setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings for the victories he had obtained.

These instances of gratitude in regard to the gods were attended with the most incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were 75 feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out three times as large again as his own, and surrounded it with fosses 50 feet in depth by 10 broad. He ordered the foot to prepare and leave each in his tent two beds seven feet and an half in length: and the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion.

tion. Alexander's view in these orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed that himself and his followers were superior to all other mortals.

He afterwards crossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphafus. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and settled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. (o) From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of sickness carried off Cœnus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had distinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those singularly good men, zealous for the public, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet consisted of eight hundred vessels, as well gallies as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that great storms arise in this part, as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli*, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but, having united for their

(o) Arr. in Ind. pag. 319. Strab. lib. 15. pag. 692.

mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and fourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of some strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the *Oxydracæ*, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be set up ; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the scaling-ladders from a soldier ; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him ; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the butt against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his feet ; and, finding himself standing, sword in hand he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance ; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprize, and the fire that shot from his eyes, had struck into the enemy. At last, an Indian let fly an arrow three foot long (that being the length of their arrows) which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropt his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then

this

(p) this mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian, who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to strip him; however, Alexander no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and, laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up that instant, and attempting impossibilities, for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the soldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate standing between two towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

The first care they took, was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * surgeons cut off, so very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the steel point; and, after undressing him, they found it was a bearded † arrow; and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unless the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being stopt, he recovered by degrees,

(p) Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

* In these ages they and physicians were the same thing.

* So arrows are called that have

beards at their points like fish-hooks. Animadvertunt hamos in-esse telo.

and

and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent ; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of the seven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as he knew that the report of his death increased among the Barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one ; purposely to shew himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before, at some distance from the rest of the fleet, for fear lest the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refused it ; and, calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore and the neighbouring forests echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, whilst others clasped his knees ; others again were contented with only touching his cloaths, and with seeing him ; but all in general burst into tears, and calling for a thousand blessings from heaven, wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

At this instant deputies came from the *Malli*, with the chiefs of the *Oxydracæ*, being one hundred and sixty, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whom-

whomsoever he pleased to nominated ; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded a thousand of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were handsomest and best shaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him, at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. His chief courtiers and most intimate friends thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and serenity of his mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him : It was Craterus spoke on this occasion. “ We begin, royal Sir, to breathe and live, “ now we find you in the condition to which the “ goodness of the gods has restored you. But how “ great were our fears and our griefs ! How severely “ did we reproach ourselves, for having abandoned, “ in such an extremity, our king, our father ! It was “ not in our power to follow him ; but this did not “ extenuate our guilt, and we look upon ourselves as “ criminals, in not having attempted impossibilities “ for your sake. But, Sir, never plunge us in such “ deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched paltry “ town deserve to be bought at so dear a price as the “ loss of your life ? Leave those petty exploits and “ enterprizes to us, and preserve your person for such “ occasions only as are worthy of you. We still “ shudder with horror, when we reflect on what we so “ lately were spectators of. We have seen the moment, when the most abject hands upon earth were “ going to seize the greatest prince in the universe, and “ despoil him of his royal robes. Permit us, Sir, “ to say, you are not your own master, but that you

“ owe

“ owe yourself to us: we have a right over your life,
“ since ours depends on it; and we dare take the free-
“ dom to conjure you, as being your subjects and your
“ children, to be more careful of so precious a life, if
“ not for your own sake, at least for ours, and for the
“ felicity of the universe.”

The king was strongly touched with these testimo-
nies of their affection, and having embraced them
severally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as
follows: “ I cannot enough thank all present, who are
“ the flower of my citizens and friends, not only for
“ your having this day preferred my safety to your
“ own, but also for the strong proofs you have given
“ me of your zeal and affection from the beginning
“ of this war; and if any thing is capable of making
“ me wish for a longer life, it is the pleasure of en-
“ joying, for years to come, such valuable friends as
“ you. But give me leave to observe, that in some
“ cases we differ very much in opinion. You wish to
“ enjoy me long; and even, if it were possible, for
“ ever; but as to myself, I compute the length of my
“ existence, not by years, but by glory. I might
“ have confined my ambition within the narrow li-
“ mits of Macedonia; and contented with the king-
“ dom my ancestors left me, have waited, in the
“ midst of pleasures and indolence, an inglorious old
“ age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are
“ computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but can
“ you imagine, that after having made Europe and
“ Asia but one empire; after having conquered the
“ two noblest parts of the world, in the tenth year
“ of my reign and the thirtieth of my age, that it
“ will become me to stop in the midst of so exalted
“ a career, and discontinue the pursuit of glory to
“ which I have entirely devoted myself? Know,
“ that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a true
“ and solid grandeur to whatever appears insignificant.
“ In what place soever I may fight, I shall fancy
“ myself upon the stage of the world, and in pre-
“ sence

“ fence of all mankind. I confefs that I have at-
 “ chieved mighty things hitherto ; but the country
 “ we are now in, reproaches me that a woman has
 “ done ftill greater. It is Semiramis I mean. How
 “ many nations did ſhe conquer ! How many cities
 “ were built by her ! What magnificent and ſu-
 “ pendous works did ſhe finiſh ! How ſhameful is it
 “ that I ſhould not yet have attained to ſo exalted a
 “ pitch of glory ! Do but ſecond my ardor, and I
 “ ſhall ſoon ſurpaſs her. Defend me only from ſecret
 “ cabals and domeſtic treaſons, by which moſt princes
 “ loſe their lives, I take the reſt upon myſelf, and
 “ will be answerable to you for all the events of the
 “ war.”

This ſpeech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's
 character. He had no notion of true glory. He did
 not know either the principle, the rule or end of it.
 He certainly placed it where it was not. He was ſtrongly
 prejudiced in vulgar error, and cheriſhed it. He fan-
 cied himſelf born merely for glory ; and that none
 could be acquired but by unbounded, unjuſt and irre-
 gular conduct. In his impetuous fallies after a miſta-
 ken glory, he followed neither reaſon, virtue, nor hu-
 manity ; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have
 been a rule and ſtandard to all other men, he was ſur-
 prized that neither his officers nor ſoldiers would en-
 ter into his views ; and lent themſelves very unwil-
 lingly, to ſupport his ridiculous enterprizes.

Alexander, after having ended his ſpeech, diſmiſſed
 the aſſembly, and continued encamped for ſeveral days
 in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and
 his army marched after him upon the banks. He then
 came among the *Sabracæ*, a powerful nation of In-
 dians. Theſe had levied fixty thouſand foot and fix
 thouſand horſe, and reinforced them with five hundred
 chariots ; however, the arrival of Alexander ſpread a
 terror through the whole country, and accordingly
 they ſent ambaffadors to make their ſubmiſſion. After
 having built another city which he alſo called Alexan-
 dria,

dria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of king Samus. At the siege of one of this king's towns Ptolemy was dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and swords, so that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural son of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averse to luxury, vastly generous, easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had made the rest of the Macedonian noblemen assume: in a word, it is hard to say, whether he were more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy: and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for, when laying it upon the wound it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

(q) The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, *Patala*, according to (r) Arrian, signifying in the Indian tongue, the same as *Delta* in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also an harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly un-

(q) Strab. l. 15. p. 692.

(r) Arrian. in Indic. p. 314.
acquainted.

acquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprize, was, Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed * twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the sea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, " That they at last were come to the end of
 " their toils which they had so earnestly desired ; that
 " now nothing could oppose their valour, nor
 " add to their glory ; that without fighting any more,
 " or spilling of blood, they were masters of the uni-
 " verse ; that their exploits had the same boundaries
 " with nature ; and that they would be spectators of
 " things, known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the sea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger ; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose ebblings are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country ; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to punish their rashness. They were no less surprized and terrified some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the ships being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with cloaths, with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm.

At last Alexander, after having sailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he

* *Four hundred furlongs.*

had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods, not to suffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had compleated his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECT. XVII. *Alexander, in his march through deserts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasagardæ, where Cyrus's monument stood. Orsines, a powerful lord, is put to death by the clandestine intrigues of Bagoas the eunuch. Calanus the Indian ascends a funeral pile, where he puts himself to death. Alexander marries Statira the daughter of Darius. Harpalus arrives at Athens; Demosthenes is banished. The Macedonian soldiers make an insurrection, which Alexander appeases. He recalls Antipater from Macedonia, and sends Craterus in his room. The king's sorrow for the death of Hephæstion.*

(s) **A**lexander being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledgment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph: and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

(s) Arrian. in Indic. p. 334.

(*t*) Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer when the southern sea-winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, which was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the *Oritæ*, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havock among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eat all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burthen, and next upon their war-horses: and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a disease which generally accompanies famine, compleated the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threescore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things: for the soil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men who lay nearest that

(*t*) Arrian. p. 335.

country sent him all kind of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burthen, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carouzing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups and goblets, prepared for that purpose. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair disheveled, and like so many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves in every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time the army was never sober. It was very happy, says Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition;

condition: for a thousand resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have defeated these conquerors of the world, whilst thus plunged in wine and excess.

(u) Nearchus still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Persian gulph, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a secure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed; and that Nearchus had been so very happy as to escape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so much changed, that it was scarce possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. *Your fleet, royal Sir,* cried he immediately, *thanks to the gods, is not lost:* upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed, that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence: for fully persuaded he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty and oppression. But Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and

(u) Arrian. in Indic. p. 348—352.

pierced to the very soul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of male-administration, and with them six hundred soldiers who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the same severity, all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity ; to his glory, to prove he does not connive or share in the injustice committed in his name ; to the consolation of his subjects, whom he supplies with a vengeance themselves ought never to exercise ; in fine, to the safety of his dominions, which, by so equitable an administration, is secured from many dangers, and very often from insurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it resounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not so much as a single man is punished, as a terror to the rest ; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his successful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He proposed no less than to sail, from the Persian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the streights of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars ; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his design, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus : he next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia.

cedonia. For this purpose, he sent orders to the vice-roys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprize; and he caused to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Passagardæ, a city of Persia. Orsines was governor of the country, and the greatest nobleman in it. He descended from Cyrus; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestors, he himself had amassed great treasures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a signal piece of service. The person, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines observing, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine managed horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious moveables, jewels, golden vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thousand talents of silver in specie*. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the

* About 600,000 *l.*

east, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines's attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season ; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions of that nobleman, as if by chance ; and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. Nevertheless, the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on ; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced and overreached in this manner by their favourites ; a danger so common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, (x) assures him, that if he were exempt from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who represent them. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer ; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which sooths their pride. Slander always makes some impression on the most equitable minds ; and leaves behind it such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished ; and is sensible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom enquire into secret calumnies, either from indolence, giddiness, or shame to appear suspicious, fearful or diffident ; in a word, from their unwillingness to own, that they were imposed upon, and had abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner,

(x) De Consider. lib. 2. c. 14.

the most unfullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a sad example on the present occasion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at distance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander, having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar ; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and silver, as the Persians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak ; vastly surprized that so powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas, thinking this a proper time for him to speak, “ Are we to wonder, says he, to find the
“ tombs of kings so empty, since the houses of the
“ governors of provinces are filled with the gold of
“ which they have deprived them ? I, indeed, had
“ never seen this monument ; but I have heard Da-
“ rius say, that immense treasures were buried in it,
“ Hence flowed the unbounded liberality and profu-
“ sion of Orsines, who, by bestowing what he could
“ not keep, without ruining himself, thought to make
“ a merit of this in your sight.” This charge was without the least foundation ; and yet the magi, who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpose ; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their silence, on this occasion, ought naturally to have cleared Orsines ; but the artful, insinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander’s mind, and by that means given calumny an easy access to it. The accusers, whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment came and impeached Orsines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and among the rest, with stealing the treasures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought
sufficient ;

sufficient ; so that this prince was loaded with chains, before he so much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him ; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his accusers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person ; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history of princes, who have been betrayed in the like manner.

I have already said, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he protested the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. (y) This man, having lived fourscore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with sickness ; and having a very severe fit of the cholic, upon his arrival at Pailagardæ, he resolved to put himself to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health, he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingering pains ; and being also assured of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he besought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him ; and desired, that after he had ascended it, fire might be set to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might easily be dissuaded from so dreadful a design ; but finding, in spite of all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce with it. Calanus then rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile ; offered up his prayers to the gods ; caused libations to be performed upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals ; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims ; embraced such of his friends as were present ; intreated them to be merry that day, to feast and carouse with Alexander ; assuring them, at the same time, that he

(y) Arrian. lib. 7. p. 276. Diod. lib. 7. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 793.

would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words, he ascended, with the utmost chearfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face ; and, when the flame caught him, he did not make the least motion ; but, with a patience and constancy that surprized the whole army, continued in the posture in which he at first had laid himself ; and compleated his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.

(z) The historian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as suiting only a frantic, senseless wretch ; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy (and these were not mistaken :) in fine, others applauded this false heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over sorrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited several of his friends and general officers to supper ; and, in compliance with Calanus's request, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should quaff most. He, who conquered on this occasion, was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance : a scene, worthy of closing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited !

(a) From Passagardæ, Alexander came to Persepolis ; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself, for his folly in setting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his fleet ; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Susa, he

(z) Diodore.

(a) Arrian, de Indic. p. 357, 358.

* *A thousand crowns.*

came down again to the mouth of the Pasi-tigris, and sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods sacrifices by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet ; and for having conducted it so far safe, through numberless dangers.

Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephæstion. And in order that, by making these marriages more common, his own might not be censured ; he persuaded the greatest noblemen of his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia, about fourscore young maidens, whom they married. His design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money ; he appointed, in his camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction ; we are told that it amounted to near ten thousand talents* ; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers,

* *About fifteen hundred thousand pounds,*

for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, * *That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects; nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication.* A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which, in affairs of government, is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called *Epigones*, that is, *successors*; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia; and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. These came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle-array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed, Alexander observing these were harassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies; he for that reason was desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

(b) In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed gover-

(b) Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858.

* Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ἔτ' ἐν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἕτε δ' ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τῷ βασιλέα. Arrian.

nor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a loole to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed five thousand talents, that is, about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; assembled six thousand soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. (c) Immediately all such orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Phocion seven hundred * talents, and even put his person under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, and intreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor, that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: † *If they resemble me*, replied Phocion, *the little spot of ground with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury.* (d) Alexander having likewise sent him an hundred || talents, Phocion

(c) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

(d) Ibid. p. 749.

* Seven hundred thousand crowns.

† Si mei similes erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit:

fin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum aſſi augerique luxuriam. Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. 1.

|| An hundred thousand crowns.

asked

asked those who brought them, upon what design Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? *It is, replied they, because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man.* Says Phocion, *let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for.*

The reader will suppose, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And indeed he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first shew more favour to Harpalus. He advised the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjust occasion, and at the same time without the least necessity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups of solid gold, and that he admired the fashion, and the beauty of the workmanship, desired him to take it in his hand, and tell him *the weight of it.* Demosthenes taking the cup, was surprized at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weighed? Harpalus answered with a smile, *Twenty * talents, I believe;* and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup: for so great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could discover by the air and certain glances, the foible of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power; but, overcome by this present, and being † no

* Twenty thousand crowns.

† The expression in the Greek is full of beauty and spirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garrison (of the enemy) which a

governor had received into his city, and thereby dispossessed himself of the command of it. Πλήγαις ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας, ὥσπερ παραδεδυμένῳ φρουρῶν.

longer master of himself, he joined on a sudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the assembly. The people then ordered him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud, that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a * *squincy*, but an *argyrancy*; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had suppressed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been sent to Demosthenes, were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Caricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this enquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shewn on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes, to prove his innocence, proposed a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was empowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the first they tried, and fined upon being convicted fifty † talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however, he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Trezena; and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which

* It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of the Greek words. Οὐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης ἔφραζον,

ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀργυράγχης εἰλῆφθαι νόκτωρ τ' δημογωγόν.
† Fifty thousand crowns.

shews that great men are not such at all times, and on all occasions.

(e) It were to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates, in justification of Demosthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the camp, by which all Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the same time give them the strongest proof how greatly they were in his esteem. However, the very contrary happened: for being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which

(e) Pausan. l. 2. p. 148.

Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians ; and that the only motive of his doing this, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Upon which, without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then, and with seditious cries unanimously demanded to be discharged ; saying farther, that since he despised the soldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsoever, and in what manner they pleased : but as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no way surprized and without once hesitating, jumps from his tribunal ; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their courage in an instant. Quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled so prodigiously, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-ascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words :
“ You all desire a discharge ; I grant it you. Go
“ now and publish to the whole world, that you have
“ left your prince to the mercy of the nations he had
“ conquered, who were more affectionate to him than
“ you.” After speaking this, he returned suddenly
into

into his tent ; cashiered his old guard ; appoints another in its place all composed of Persian soldiers ; shuts himself up for some days, and would not see any person all the time.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, it could not have surprized them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confessing their guilt ; acknowledging their fault with tears and sighs ; declare that the loss of life will not be so grievous as the loss of honour ; and protest, that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. At last, Alexander could no longer resist the tender proofs they gave of their sorrow and repentance ; so that when he himself, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears : and, after some gentle reproaches which were softened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared, so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was restoring them to life, as was manifest from their shouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads ; and gave orders, that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority, the same pay which had been given their fathers. Such support and honours granted to veterans, must necessarily ennoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession ! It is not possible for a government to enrich every soldier in particular ; but it may animate and console him by marks of distinction,

tion, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed ; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits, instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aspiring at sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable disposition ; and had often declared in his letters, that she did not behave in a manner suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

(f) From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ec'atana in Media, where, after having dispatched the most urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again solemnized games and festivals : There had come to him from Greece three thousand dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himself. Alexander abandoning himself to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and sometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them Hephæstion lost his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his secrets, and, to say all in a word, a second self. Craterus only seemed to dispute this honour with him. A few words, which one day escaped that prince, shews the difference he made between these two courtiers. *Craterus, says he, loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander.* This expression signifies, it I mistake not, that Hephæstion had devoted himself, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander ; but that Craterus

(f) A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324.

loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and sometimes was less obsequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and interest. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent ; free from pride, avarice and jealousy ; he never abused his credit, nor preferred himself to those officers, whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted ; but his death threw Alexander into excessive sorrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner, as was unworthy so great a king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the *Cossæi*, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECT. XVIII. *Alexander enters Babylon, contrary to the sinister predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers. He there forms the plans of several voyages and conquests. He sets about repairing the breaches made in the peers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of Belus. He abandons himself to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The universal grief spread over the whole empire upon that account. Sysigambis is not able to survive him. Preparations are made to convey Alexander's corpse to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya.*

(g) **A**lexander being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans, who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in case he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go on further. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after sending several of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting, in the strongest light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him, in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have so great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. (b) He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so much with the terror of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he set forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the states-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with

(g) Arrian. lib. 7. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. lib. 10. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707.

(b) Diod. lib. 17. p. 577—583. Justin. lib. 12. c. 13—16.

the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the same time. *Æsculapius*, says he, *has shewed me but very little indulgence, in not preserving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myself.* In private, he discovered a great friendship for such of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return ; and he restored them all the statues and other curiosities which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Susa, Babylon, Passagarda, and other places. We are told, that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambassadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which seemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy ; and piqued himself upon treading in his steps, and resembling him in all things. But, cries * Seneca, in what did this frantic young man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, resemble Hercules ? The latter, free from all self-interested views, travelled through the world, merely to serve the several nations he visited, and to purge the earth of such robbers as infested it : whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory consist in carrying desolation

* Quid illi simile habebat vefanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas ? Hercules nihil sibi vicit. Orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando : — malorum hostis, bonorum

vindex, terrarum marisque pacator. At hic à pueritia latro gentiumque vastator — summum bonum duxit, terrori esse cunctis mortalibus. *Senec. de Benef. lib. 1. cap. 13.*

into all places, and in rendring himself the terror of mankind.

At the same time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publickly in the assembly of the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force, against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But, as for the Athenians and Etolians, they did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution, which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having dispatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been seen. As he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia, to extinguish what the Persians call the *sacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was considered as an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to please Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the same time the king, having procured a great number of architects and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raised an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree

wood. The whole formed a perfect square, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the * buttresses or supporters whereof the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed ; and two other statues, in an upright posture, compleatly armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons, fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade, stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting of animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but in an imperceptible manner) with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is above an hundred and ninety-five foot.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful

* In Greek *Ἐπρωίδες*, or ears. These are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and the left of the prow.

productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicles, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanics, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and surprizing boldness, but such a greatness as was scarce conceivable.

(i) It was this artist, who, discoursing some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he therefore pleased but to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, consisting of ten thousand inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves in the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleased Alexander, who sought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough there was one prince, whose folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Isthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the most proud and senseless terms. *With regard to myself, says Alexander, mount Caucasus, the river † Tanais, the Caspian sea, all which I passed in triumph, shall be my monument.*

The expence of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thousand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thousand pounds. But, what man was ever so ridiculously and extravagantly profuse? All this gold, all

(i) Plut. de fortun. Alex. serm. I. p. 335.

* Proud Athos, who liftest thy head to heaven, be not so bold as to oppose to my workmen, such rocks and stones as they cannot cut: other-

wise, I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the sea. Plutarch. de ira cohò. p. 555.

† The Iaxartes is here meant.

this silver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus sacrificed to a vain ostentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, to raise them above human nature ; and this was what he proposed, and for that purpose had sent to the temple of Ammon, a trusty person, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander ; and the answer was, that sacrifices might be offered to Hephæstion, as a demi-god. These were not spared in any manner ; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of ten thousand persons were invited. At the same time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the isle of Pharos. In this letter (which is still extant) to excite his diligence, and hasten the work, he grants the governor, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, past, present and future ; provided that, at his return, the temple and city should be compleated. And now nothing was seen but new altars, temples and festivals ; no oaths were administered but in the name of the new deity : to question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæstion) having bewailed him as dead, in passing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it ; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been assured, that the officer wept, merely from some remains of tenderness, and not as doubting Hephæstion's divinity. I cannot say, whether Alexander prevailed so far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity ; but he himself appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly persuaded of it ; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods. How ridiculous is all this !

During

During almost a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind ; such as to go round Africa by sea ; to make a compleat discovery of all the nations lying round the Caspian sea, and inhabiting its coasts ; to conquer Arabia ; to make war with Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at rest ; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the east, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire ; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to it all the conveniencies and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered prodigiously by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country ; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates, about Babylon, that there was scarce depth enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, insulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions ; since, notwithstanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he how-

ever had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very safe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half) was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was, the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. *(k) I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, had the Lord of hosts sworn above three hundred years before: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction — (l) It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation — neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.* Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city as well as the country about it, were to be covered

(k) Isa. c. 14. v. 22, 23.

(l) Chap. 13. v. 20.

with stagnated waters, which should make all access to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies ; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be compleatly fulfilled ; (m) *for the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it ? and his hand is stretched out,* and who shall turn it back ? Nothing shews more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned ; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects ; a prince, of whose enterprizes none had ever miscarried ; and who failed in this only, tho' it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it in his return from Greece, and it had laid in ruins ever since. Now Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had caused all the rubbish to be removed ; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work. Notwithstanding ten thousand of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. (n) When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance ; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building of a temple, designed for idolatrous worship ; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose ; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their

(m) Isa. ch. 14. v. 27.
cap. 8.

(n) Josephus contra Appion. lib. 1.

* See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus.

perseverance, discharged and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of providence on this occasion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his servant Cyrus, the idol * Belus, the god who rival'd the Lord of Israel: He afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupify himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers: For though in certain moments he seemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however seriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to such a degree, that whenever the most insignificant thing happened, (if ever so little extraordinary and unusual) his imagination swelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with sacrifices, with persons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophecy. It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosophic eye, to see a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, aban-

* God gives him this name in *Isaiab.*

doned to the strongest terrors ; so true is it, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the superstitious man, whose soul is a prey to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a just judgment, took a pleasure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in sinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to set himself above human nature, and equal himself to the Deity. This prince had sought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conquests which men most admire ; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea of grandeur : and God delivers him up to a ridiculous superstition, which virtuous men of good sense and understanding despise most, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever solemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance. After having spent a whole night in carousing, a second was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup which held six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name ; and afterwards pledged him again, in the same furious bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. Here then, cries * Seneca, (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness) is this hero ; invincible to all the toils of prodigious marches, to the dangers of sieges and combats, to the most violent extremes of heat and cold ; here he lies, conque--

* Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, transferat, tot flumina ex ignoto

cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiserunt ; intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculæus ac fatalis scyphus condidit. *Senec. Epist. 83.*

red by his intemperance, and struck to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules.

In this condition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some good intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding * his great weakness, he however struggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship) his dying hand to kiss. After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire? he answered, *To the most worthy*; adding, that he foresaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease. And Perdiccas, enquiring further at what time they should pay him divine honours? He replied, *When you are happy*. These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad.

(o) No one, says Plutarch and Arrian, suspected then that Alexander had been poisoned; and yet it is at this time that such reports generally prevail. But the state of his body proved that he did not die that way: for all his chief officers disagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected

(o) A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 328.

* Quamquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam osculari non cur-

reret, quæ jam fato oppressa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam spiritu vividior, sufficit? *Val. Max. l. 5. c. 1.*

for several days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not shew the least symptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's sons: That Cassander, the eldest of them, brought the * poison from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feast mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs at that time gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his male-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his sons to commit a crime, which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison, or by excessive drinking, it is surprizing to see the prediction of the Magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God has reserved to himself only the knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it no other way than by

* It is pretended that this poison was an extremely cold water, which distils drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is so vastly sharp, that it corrodes what-

ever vessel receives it, those excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpose from Greece to Babylon, in a vessel of the latter sort.

their impious correspondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural sagacity, find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events ; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are yet not above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge * those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and prepare an event ; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes ; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent : by these things, devils are enabled to foresee and foretel certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but † God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, enquire their fate of such lying spirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Persians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them ; the Macedonians the best, the most valiant prince in the universe ; and all exclaimed against the gods, for having enviously bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age and the height

* *Dæmones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quòd sint eis talia suadentibus consenturi. Suadent autem miris & invisibilibus modis. S. August. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 559.*

† Facile est & non incongruum,

ut omnipotens & justus, ad eorum pœnam quibus ista prædicuntur—occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat. *S. Aug. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic. l. 2. Quæst. 3.*

of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they saw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours ; and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and on the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered, that they were on the further side, (with respect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them ; and surrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful futurity presented itself to their imagination ; and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it ; and to raise to the throne perhaps some mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the provinces ; and the news of it soon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being still inconsolable for the death of Hephæstion her husband, the sight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Syfigambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family ; and this new affliction awakened the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the funeral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead : *Who now, would she say, will take care of my daughters ? Where shall we find another Alexander ?* She would fancy she saw them again reduced to a state of capti-

captivity, and that they had lost their kingdom a second time ; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone they had no refuge left. At last, she sunk under her grief. This princess who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, of fourscore of her brothers who were murdered in one day by Ochus ; and to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family ; though she had, I say, submitted patiently to all these losses, she however had not strength of mind sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any sustenance, and starved herself to death to avoid her surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a successor, of which I shall give an account in the succeeding volume. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Arideus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king ; and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Arideus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both ; for Arideus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. (p) Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meanest of mortals.

(p) *Ælian.* l. 13. c. 30.

SECT. XIX. *The judgment we are to form of Alexander.*

THE reader would not be satisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them; especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of extasy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to have prevailed: Others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours, as at least sully, if not quite eclipse, the splendor of his victories.

This diversity of sentiments denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whose history we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or seasons in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly observed. In the enquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, supposing he had turned them towards Italy, he † discovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wise, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the same time prudent and circumspect: the other, immersed in all the wantonness of an haughty prosperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; softened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and excesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he assumed after his conquests.

* Luxuria, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus. *Tacit.*

† Et loquimur de Alexandro nondummerso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique,

ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi victor induerat, spectetur, Dario magis similis quàm Alexandro in Italiam venisset, & exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset. *Liv. l. 9. n. 18.*

I shall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and, in a manner, two æras; first, from his youth till the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre which followed soon after; and secondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities, with few defects (according to the idea the heathens had of these;) the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendor of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are first to acknowledge and admire in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous soul. (g) He delighted in bestowing and doing service, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, *And am I then to have no ball?* No, sir, replied the lad, *you do not ask me for it.* This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, *that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his favours.*

Alexander, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on

(g) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

all occasions, and appear more conspicuous than any other person. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory ; and it is well known, that ambition, which is considered by christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind ; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor ! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony in respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one sense, than to his father. A man, who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully sensible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were soon seen. Is it possible for us to admire too much the great solidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversation with the Persian ambassadors ? His early wisdom, whilst, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broke out in Macedonia ? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he so gloriously distinguished himself ?

It is a pain to me, to see him wanting in respect to his father at a banquet, and employing severe, insulting expressions on that occasion. It is true indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner out of himself ; but still no pretence, no injustice or violence,

violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

(r) He afterwards discovered more moderation, when, on occasion of the insolent and seditious discourses held by his soldiers in an insurrection, he said, *That nothing was more royal, than for a man to bear with calmness himself ill spoken of, at the time he is doing good.* It has been observed, that the great prince of (s) Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious soldiers, who refused to follow him : *Go, says he, ungrateful, base wretches, and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your king among nations, who will obey him better than you.* “ Alexander (says that prince) abandoned by his own troops among Barbarians, who were not yet compleatly conquered, believes himself so worthy of commanding over others, that he did not think men could refuse to obey him. Whether he were in Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, it was the same to him. He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found subjects.” Alexander’s patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less wonderful.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appease the intestine feuds which raged in the kingdom ; that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind ; that he disarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him ; and that in less than three years, he should have enabled himself to execute securely those plans his father had so wisely projected ; all this supposes a presence of mind, a strength of soul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a consummate prudence ; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

(r) Plut. in Alex. p. 688.

(s) St. Evremond.

This character he supported in a wonderful manner, during the whole course of his expedition against Darius, till the time mentioned by us. (t) Plutarch very justly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very instant he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarce twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treasury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians: in this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth, asks Plutarch? Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprize with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance and courage; preparations and aids, with which philosophy supplied him, and which he thoroughly studied; so that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the lessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprize must naturally be successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long course of years, enured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by

[(t) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. I. p. 327.

* *About thirty thousand pounds.*

the hopes of an immense booty ; and more so, by their hereditary and irreconcilable hatred to the Persians ; such an army, I say, headed by Alexander, was almost sure of conquering an army, composed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few soldiers.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality ; and all his soldiers by an air of goodness, affability and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him such a zeal and tenderness as is proof against all things : after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was, to astonish his enemies by bold enterprizes, to terrify them by examples of severity ; and lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory ; the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, shewed Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the last city to the very foundations spread an universal terror ; but the allowing all those the enjoyment of their liberties and antient laws, who submitted chearfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity ; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises were relative to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known that, in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the Campus Martius, with running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tyber, which runs by that city. By these exercises

cises they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes in an enemy's country ; for those are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having been long exposed to the sun-beams, which, with the weight of the soldiers arms, must necessarily make them sweat. Hence we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himself in a river which had like to have been so fatal to him, especially as he might not know that the waters of it were so excessively cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, entirely proved, that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great soldier ; as skill in making choice of a field of battle ; such a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for the giving out proper orders ; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers only animated ; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by such a prudent reservedness, as will not suffer the hero to be carried away by an indiscreet ardour ; lastly, such a resolution and constancy as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though seemingly unsurmountable, and which know no other bounds or issue but victory.

Historians have observed a great * difference between Alexander and his father in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted secretly, and in the dark ; but his son pursued his schemes with more candour, and without disguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force of arms. The former discovered more art, the latter had a greater soul. (u) Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to

(u) Pausan. l. 7. p. 415.

* Vincendi ratio utrique diversa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hostibus, hic palam fufis, Pru-

dentior ille consilio, hic animo magnificentior — Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi. *Justin. lib. 9. cap. 8.*

conquest, as ignominious ; but Alexander could never prevail with himself to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of all Darius's generals ; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his soldiers, upon the severest penalties, not to make the least havock in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his side, or to make the Persians suspect his fidelity. (x) Memnon also delighted in behaving with generosity towards Alexander ; and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince : *I did not take thee into my pay, says that general, striking him with his javelin, to speak injuriously of that prince, but to fight against him.*

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident in his life : is the point of sight in which it is his interest to be considered, and it is impossible for him not to appear truly great in that view. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not only of Darius's person, but also of his empire. Not only Syfigambis, that king's mother, was his captive ; but also his wife and daughters, princesses whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia. (y) Alexander was in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a like occasion. Nevertheless, his camp was, to those princesses, a sacred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chastity was secured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wish success to so wise and

(x) Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.
& victor. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

(y) Et juvenis, & cœlebs,

generous a conqueror, who governed his passions so absolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy : this is, his being informed with a soul capable of a tender friendship ; his openness, truth, perseverance and humility in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers itself only, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all things around it ; and is better pleased with servile wretches, than with free, sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers ; treated them with the greatest familiarity ; admitted them to his table, his exercises and conversations, was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when sick, rejoiced at their recovery, and shared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debase his dignity, by such a familiarity and condescension ; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall over-top them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons only, not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a croud.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity ; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, tho' attended with the greatest difficulties and dangers : this made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In this picture that has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to compleat his glory ? Military

virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendor: goodness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom have crowned it, and added such a lustre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose, that Alexander, to secure his glory and his victories, stops short in his career; that he himself checks his ambition, and raises Darius to the throne, with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it; makes Asia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia; that he declares himself protector of all the cities and states of Greece, in no other view than to secure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective laws and customs; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight consist in rendering his people happy, in procuring it an abundance of all things, in seeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and in endearing himself to his subjects: in fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more so by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world; he sees himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations, and exercises, over the minds of men, such an empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: supposing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever blessed mankind.

To the forming so great a character, a greatness of soul, and a most refined taste for true glory are required, such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not * consider, that the glory which attends the most shining conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and tram-

* Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria — Arcus, & statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obscurat oblivio: con-

trà, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ potentæ domitor ac frænatior animus ipsa vetustate florescit. *Plin. in Pan. Trajan.*

pled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to universal power. But Alexander, was far from possessing these happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man ; and I do not remember that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

S E C O N D P A R T.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issus, in which Alexander displayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior ; we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the greatest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy disposition, which, not being quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprize more wild and extravagant, than that of crossing the sandy deserts of Libya ; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and fatigue ; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter Ammon ; and purchase at so dear a rate a title, which could only render him contemptible ?

(2) How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word which signifies *health* *, except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater ! As if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish

(2) Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* Κρίσις.

all his subjects, the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is so groveling, none so unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenness ; its bare name is intolerable, and strikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it, to spend whole days and nights in carousing, to continue these excesses for weeks together ; to pride one's self in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain such a victory ! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how greatly shocking is it to hear the frantic discourses of a son, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously strives to defame his father, to sully his glory, and, lost to all shame, prefer himself to him ? Drunkenness is only the occasion, not the cause, of these excesses. It betrays the sentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and insatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and despising all mankind, has the power, in his sober moments, to conceal his sentiments ; but no sooner is he intoxicated, than he shews himself to be what he really is.

What shall we say of his barbarously murdering an old friend ; who, tho' indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend ? Of the death of the most honest man in all his court, whose only crime was his refusing to pay him divine homage ? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, tho' nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest suspicions ?

I pass over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to most historians, gave into, and which are not to be justified. To speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror ; qualities in which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations ; all we

now

now have to do is to examine, whether this esteem be so well grounded as is generally supposed.

I have already observed, that, to the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illustrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be considered in a more conspicuous light than his father; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unsettled. He himself was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign assistance. He raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his soldiers but his officers; to instruct them in all the military exercises; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and, to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the rise of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the best troops the world had then ever seen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way, before he could possess himself of the power, which Athens, Sparta and Thebes had successively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest and most sagacious people in the universe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through seas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we see, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and the most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task, to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks who had so often triumphed over Asia?

But, without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not consider heroes according to the number of provinces they have

quered, but by the intrinsic value of their actions, must give in favour of the latter : what judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius ; and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and illustrious conquerors ?

In this enquiry, I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the solid glory of a hero ; I mean, the justice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an usurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Asia the seat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plausible pretence for it ; because the Persians had been in all ages, and were at that time professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he therefore might think himself justly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury ? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously, when he addressed him in these words : *What have we to do with thee ? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods, allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comest ? Thou boastest that the only design of thy marching, is to extirpate robbers : thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world.* This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spake to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked * him what right he

* Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infestum ; ille, liberâ contumaciâ :

Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor : quia tu magna classe, imperator. Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicero. 3. de rep.

had to infest the seas: *The same that thou hast*, replied the pirate with a generous liberty, *to infest the universe: but because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because thou actest the same part with a great fleet, thou art entitled conqueror.* This was a witty and just answer, says (a) St. *Austin*, who has preserved this small fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjust; and that the prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the sad consequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquests? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come * from a little spot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conquests; has subdued, not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I say, he still finds himself pent up; and determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to sacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiosity. It is related that † Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philosopher's telling him that there were an infinite num-

(a) S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 4.

* Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, & ad ignota mittebat — Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit: (or congeffit) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat — &, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit. Tanta est cæcitas mentium, & tanta initiorum suorum

oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non sine controversia Dominus, detecto fine terrarum, per suum rediturus orbem, tristis est. *Senec. Epist. 94. & 119.*

† Alexandro pectus insatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho — innumerales Mundos esse referenti; Heu me, inquit, miserum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio suffecit. *Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 14.*

number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in † Seneca, to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beasts who live merely by blood and slaughter?

Alexander * passionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature or just bounds, prided himself upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wise conqueror, and this frantic youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He over-ran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory consist in rendering himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves feared by their poisons.

But, leaving this first consideration, which represent conquerors to us, as so many scourges sent by the

† Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio—quàm conflagratio. *Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. 3. in Præfat.*

* Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis vestigia sequens, ac ne ibi quidem resistens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) simile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat fælix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit: orbem terra-

rum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator? At hic à pueritia latro, gentiumque vastator, tam hostium pernicies quam amicorum, qui summum bonum duceret terrori esse cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferocissima tantùm, sed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum. *Senec. de Benef. l. 1. c. 13.*

wrath

wrath of heaven into the world, to punish the sins of it ; let us proceed to examine the last conquests, abstractedly in themselves, of Alexander, in order to see what judgment we are to form of them.

It must be confessed, that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendor that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastic courage raises and transports all who read his history, as it transported himself. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour, to a boldness that is equally blind, rash and impetuous ; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardor for false glory, and a wild desire of distinguishing itself, be the methods ever so unlawful ? This character suits only a military robber, who has no attendants ; whose life is only exposed ; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action : but it is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person, and share the danger with his troops in order to preserve them ; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private soldier. True valour is not desirous of displaying itself ; is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is solely intent in preserving the army. It steers equally between a fearful wisdom, that foresees and dreads all difficulties ; and a brutal ardor, which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must soften and direct the too fiery temper of valour ; as this latter must animate and warm the coldness and slowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristics suit Alexander ? When we peruse history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety, and that of his army ; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being destroyed. Here we

see a rapid flood, which is going to draw in, and swallow up, this conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, up which he climbs, and perceives round him soldiers, either transfix'd by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the ax just ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone, in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, expos'd to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

(b) Plutarch, in a † treatise where he makes the elogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conspicuous. A renowned warrior, whose elogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. (c) Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himself declared, that it was a fault which could be excus'd only in a young man, and justly deserved censure. It has been observed in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it elsewhere, that he was never wounded * in all his battles. I cannot say, whether Cæsar ever was.

The last observation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen

(b) Plut. de fortun. Alex. orat. 2. p. 341.
Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

(c) Timotheus;

† This treatise, if written by Plutarch, seems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of a declamation.

* Mention is made but of one single wound.

very much the merit of his victories, and the splendor of his reputation ; and this is the genius and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy, in a digression where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy ; and where he shews that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, insists strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans, who would have resisted him on all occasions ; and, in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his sovereign, said, was composed of so many kings. “ Had he * marched, says Livy, “ against the Romans, he would soon have found, “ that he was no longer combating against a Darius, “ who, encumbered with gold and purple, the vain “ equipage of his grandeur, and dragging after him “ a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey “ rather than as an enemy : and whom Alexander “ conquered without shedding much blood, and without wanting any other merit, than that of daring “ to despise what was really contemptible. He would “ have found Italy very different from India, through “ which he marched in a riotous manner, his army “ quite stupified with wine ; particularly when he “ should have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of “ the defeat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, “ who there lost his life.” The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by prosperity, whose subtle poison worked as

* Non jam cum Dario rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ suæ apparatus, prædam veriùs quàm hostem, nihil aliud quàm bene ausus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longè ali-

us Italiæ, quàm Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine comitissabundus incescit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, & vestigia recentia, domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander absumptus erat. Liv. l. 9. n. 17.

strongly

strongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived ; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had seemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy shew, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies ; and that had he met with nations, as courageous and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome ; that then his victories would not have been either so rapid or so uninterrupted. Nevertheless, with some, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are considered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and for this reason : both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution and courage, were put to the trial, and set in the strongest light. Now should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them ; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the same lustre, nor deserve the same applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions, and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander possessed very great qualities ; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vices, the presumptuous * idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father ; his ardent thirst of praise and flattery ; his ridiculous notion of fancying

* *Referre in tanto Rege piget superbam mutationem vestis, & desideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus ; & sæda supplicia, & inter vinum & epulas cædes amicorum, & vanitatem*

ementiendæ stirpis. Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior ; quid si trux ac præservida ira : (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoris virtutibus ducimus ? Liv. ibid.

himself the son of Jupiter ; of ascribing divinity to himself ; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a servile homage, and prostrate themselves ignominiously before him ; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine ; his violent anger, which rises to brutal ferocity ; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends in the midst of feasts and carousals : Can any one, says Livy, believe, that all these imperfections do not greatly sully the reputation of a conqueror ? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither law nor limits ; the rash intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the least reason or necessity ; the weakness and ignorance of the nations (totally unskilled in war) against whom he fought : do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the surname of Great, and the title of Hero ? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surprized to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyric to soar higher : they cannot image to themselves any thing more august ; and think they have omitted the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion, this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking ; and, if I might be allowed to say it, a want of judgment, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the several duties of the sovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most essential and most excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian and shepherd of his people ; to govern them by good laws ; to make their trade, both by sea and land, flourish ; to encourage and protect arts and sciences ; to establish

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peace

peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured ; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare ; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them ; to consider himself as the father of his people, consequently as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almost a moment after he ascended the throne, left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties of a great prince.

He seems possessed of such qualities only as are of the second rank, I mean those of war, and these are all extravagant ; are carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury ; whilst his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater ; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the insatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppression so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his soldiers appear in a more advantageous light : for these, after having plundered the wealth of the east, and after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew so licentious, so debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand pounds. What strange men were these ! how depraved their school ! how pernicious the fruit of their victories ! Is it doing honour to a prince ; is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with such a model ?

The Romans indeed seem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration ; but I very much question, whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered as so great a man.

Cæsar

Cæsar (*d*) seeing his statue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and sighing, when he compared the few glorious actions atchieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was said, that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dressed in that king's surtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the sake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch so far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince : he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army : he persecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burnt all the books of Aristotle their founder, because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.

I believe that I may justly assert, that if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and strong impression in his mind, as will make him consider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how strong would the contrast be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted ! How little would Alexander appear, set off with all his titles, and surrounded by all his conquests, even if considered in a military light, when compared to those heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation !

(*d*) Dion. l. 37. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. 51, p. 454. Id. l. 59. p. 653. Id. l. 77. p. 873.

SECT. XX. *Reflections on the Persians, Greeks and Macedonians, by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.*

THE reader will not be displeased, with my inserting here, part of the admirable * reflections of the bishop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks and Macedonians, whose history we have heard.

The Greek nations, several of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wise legislators who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign: it was she appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their male-administration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of

* *Discourse on universal history, Part 3. Chap. 4.*

government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeable to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, diverted them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people, no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics; their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror; and the Barbarians were the most hateful of objects to Greece.

(e) The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which made these nations delight so much in Homer's poems, was, his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: on that of Greece, was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury: with the Greeks Pallas, or in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as

(e) Isocr. in Panegyri.

peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them ; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reason, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius son of Hyſtaſpes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies ſo prodigiouſly numerous as exceeds all belief. The Perſians found often to their coſt, the great advantage which diſcipline has over multitude and confuſion ; and how greatly ſuperior, courage (when conducted by art) is to a blind impetuofity.

Perſia, after having been ſo often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to ſow diviſions among them ; and the height to which conqueſt had raiſed the latter, facilitated this effect. (*f*) As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and ſecurity diſſolved them. Having always been uſed to fight and conquer, they no ſooner believed that the power of the Perſians could not diſtreſs them, but they turned their arms againſt each other.

Among the ſeveral republics of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. Theſe two great common-wealths, whoſe manners and conduct were directly oppoſite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common deſign they had of ſubjecting all Greece ; ſo that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of intereſts, than an oppoſition of tempers and diſpoſitions.

The Grecian cities would not ſubject themſelves to either : for beſides that every one of them deſired to live free and independent, they were not pleaſed with the government of either of thoſe two common-wealths. We have ſhewn, in the courſe of this hiſ-

(*f*) Plat. de Leg. l. 3.

tory, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmonia and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported, Greece, in some measure ; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece ; after which, the whole secret of their politics was, to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmonia, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them with the view of subjecting the whole nation ; and industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them all together. (g) And now, the cities of Greece considered, in their wars, only the king of Persia ; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the antient spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and shewed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had followed the younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw, more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations ; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and

(g) Plat. de Leg. l. 3. Isocrat. in Pancg.

common-wealths, that tho' his kingdom was but small, yet as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice, and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia, in Alexander's time, was a just, brave and generous prince; was beloved by his subjects, and wanted neither good sense, nor vigour, for the execution of his designs. But, if we compare them; if we oppose the genius of Darius, to the penetrating sublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage (which obstacles animated) of the latter; with that boundless desire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory and his entire belief, that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired, not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who, thereby rose above difficulties, and even above themselves: the reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to these considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be confessed, that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible armies. And thus we discover at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and raised that of Alexander.

To

To smoothe his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But in the very infancy of a diversion which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a splendor and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after subduing, with incredible swiftness, all the nations subject to Persia; to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests further than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch whose impetuous career neither deserts, rivers, nor mountains could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheless the formidable empire he had acquired, subsisted no longer than his life, which was but short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the grandest designs that ever man formed, and flushed with the surest hopes of success, he died, before he had leisure to settle his affairs on a solid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

But the circumstance, which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was, his having taught the generals who survived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian
of

of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles ; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion which would follow his death.

And indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was invaded on all sides, as a succession that was become vacant ; and after being long exposed a prey, was at last possessed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever saw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vast bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals ; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But, rising to too exalted an height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity ; and such was the glorious fruit of all his conquests.

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THE

THE ANCIENT
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GREEKS.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I. *The character and plan of the history contained in this volume.*

THE history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander; and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, in Egypt; to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus.

This history will present to our view, a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy, and perfidious conduct; treason, ingratitude, and crying abuses of sovereign power; cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of probity and honour; with the violation of all laws human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars and dreadful revolutions. Men originally friends, brought up together and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits

and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expence of their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the sisters of that prince, to their own ambition; and without sparing even those to whom they either owed, or gave, life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men, and great examples; or if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid track, and are only remarkable from the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitied, for being obliged to represent human nature in such colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which occasion inevitable distaste and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most affecting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects, by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation, and it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excess of inordinate passions, of which he conceives himself incapable.

What means is there to preserve and diffuse the agreeable through a narration, which has nothing to offer but an uniform series of vices and great crimes; and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men born for the calamity of human race, and whose very names should not be transmitted to posterity? It may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes
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of too successful iniquity ; and to be particular in describing the unjust success, which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on providence, by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable, from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death ; and to secure themselves some portion, greater or less, of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, and they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each particular. Macedonia changed its master five or six times in a very short space ; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other ?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time ; and no other historian will appear, to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain ; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connection with each other ; nor will it be possible to point out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose transactions are, perhaps, the most complicated and perplexed part of antient history ; Uther, Prideaux, and

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Vaillant,

Vaillant, will be my usual guides ; and, on many occasions, I shall only transcribe from Prideaux ; but, with all these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light into this history as I could desire.

After a war of twenty years, the number of the principal competitors were reduced to four ; Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lyfimachus : The empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel ; by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct ; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was subject to the fewest changes ; because Ptolemy, who was established there as a governor, at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity : We shall, therefore, consider this prince, as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochas shall be fixed from him.

This seventh volume, therefore, will contain the space of one hundred and three or four years, under the three first kings of Egypt ; *viz.* Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years ; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty ; and Ptolemy Evergetes, whose reign continued twenty-seven.

In order to throw some light into the history contained in this volume, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious conqueror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his antient kingdom, which

his ancestors had governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant succession ; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued pacific in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains : and he might have transmitted the scepter of his progenitors to his own descendants. But, as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was instrumental in the destruction of his house, and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, spread the desolations of fire and sword through whole provinces, without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that providence abandoned these events to chance, but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations, that were to be first enlightned with the gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece ; and the same providence made it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The deity therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

It has been also remarked, that the design of God in extending the Grecian conquests through those very nations that were to be converted by the gospel, was, that the philosophy of the Greeks, should be equally diffusive ; in order to prepare the minds of those barbarous people ;

ple ; to train them up to a habitude of turning their reflections inward upon themselves ; to render them attentive to the distinction of body and soul, matter and spirit ; to awaken in them an idea of the soul's immortality, and the great end of man's existence ; to recal the first principles of the law of nature ; to distinguish the characteristics of the principal virtues ; to furnish them with rules for discharging the duties of life, and to establish the most essential ties of society, of which individuals are the members. Christianity derived advantages from all these preparations, and has gathered in all the fruit of those seeds, which providence scattered on the minds of men at such a remote distance, and which the grace of Jesus Christ caused to spring forth, at the period pre-ordained from all eternity by the divine decrees.

But though the Deity caused the Grecian conquests to be productive of all these advantages to his church, he did not consider the Greeks as less criminal, or less deserving of punishment. They had no intention to be subservient to his eternal purposes of mercy, and only proposed the gratification of their own ambition and avarice ; but his wisdom and power caused their unjust desires to be instrumental in the accomplishment of his own decrees. It was indeed extremely remarkable, as I have already intimated, that most of the near relations, and all the officers of Alexander, should be taken off by miserable deaths. The Almighty caused those usurpers to exterminate one another, and employed their own ministration to punish them for the depredations, barbarities, and injustice, with which they had harrassed so many nations, who had never injured them, and whose only crime consisted in their desire to be free, and not to acknowledge them for their masters. *Victumque ulciscitur orbem.*

Thus did their crimes avenge the conquered world.

SECT. II. *A chronological abridgment of the history contained in this seventh volume.*

THE partition of the empire of Alexander the Great, among the generals of that prince immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself without acknowledging any superior.

(a) This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a solemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Asia Major, which extended to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted, almost without any interruption, in the same families, and through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

I. *The kingdom of Egypt.*

The kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death, those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but

(a) A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

each of them was likewise distinguished by a peculiar surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. This volume will contain the history of the first three of these kings, and I shall give their names a place here with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

(b) Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight years and some months.

(c) Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the life-time of his father.

(d) Ptolemy Evergetes reigned twenty-five years.

II. *The kingdom of Syria.*

The kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short: and indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name; and thirteen, who were called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII, with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenes. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in this volume, are four in number.

(e) Seleucus Nicanor. He reigned twenty years.

(f) Antiochus Soter. 19.

(g) Antiochus Theus. 15.

(h) Seleucus Callinicus. 20.

(b) A. M. 3681.

(c) 3719.

(d) 3758.

(e) A. M. 3704.

(f) 3724.

(g) 3743.

(h) 3758.

III. *The*

III. *The kingdom of Macedonia.*

(i) Macedonia frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four princes. Cassander died three or four years after that partition, and left three sons. Philip the eldest died presently after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.

(k) Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lysimachus, made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately.

(l) After the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.

(m) Ptolemy Ceraunus having slain the preceding prince seized the kingdom, and possessed it alone, but a very short time, having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.

(n) Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a short time in Macedonia.

(o) Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted those dominions to his descendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.

(p) He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.

(q) Antigonus Doson reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.

(r) Philip, after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.

(s) His son Perseus succeeded him, and reigned about

(i) A. M. 3707.	(k) 3710.	(l) 3723.	(m) 3724.
(n) 3726.	(o) 3728.	(p) 3762.	(r) 3784.
(s) 3826.			

* INTRODUCTION.

eleven years. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. *The kingdom of Thrace, and Bithynia, &c.*

This fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces very remote from one another, had not any succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lyfimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembred, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

SECT. III. *A chronological abridgment of the history of several lesser kingdoms.*

BESIDE the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian states, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

Kings of Bithynia.

(t) Whilst Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes had laid the foundations of the kingdom of Bithynia. It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unless we may conjecture with Pausanias, that he was a Thracian. His successors however are better known.

(u) Nicomedes I. This prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.

Prusias I.

(x) Prusias II, surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels, in his war against Eumenes II, king of Pergamus.

Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Socrates.

(t) A. M. 3686.

(u) 3726.

(x) 3840.

Nicomedes

Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimonial of his gratitude to them, by which means these territories became a Roman province.

Kings of Pergamus.

This kingdom comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the Ægean sea, against the island of Lesbos.

(y) This kingdom was founded by Philatera an eunuch, who had been a servant to Docima, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lyfimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

(z) Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle. He reigned twelve years.

(a) He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians; and he transmitted his dominions to his posterity, who enjoyed them to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

(b) His successor was Eumenes II. his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his sons, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The Romans en-

(y) A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. (z) A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. (a) A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. (b) A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197.

larged his dominions considerably, after the victory he obtained over Antiochus the Great.

(c) Attalus II. espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it twenty-one years.

(d) Attalus III, surnamed Philometer, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

(e) Aristonicus, who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans, but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

Kings of Pontus.

(f) The kingdom of Pontus in Asia minor was antiently dismembred from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hytaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said, by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the Magi.

Pontus is a region of Asia minor, and is situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea, (*Pontus Euxinus*,) from which it derives its name. It extends as far as the river Halys, and even to Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

(g) The sixth monarch was Mithridates I, who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

(h) He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, and reigned twenty-six years.

(i) His successor was Mithridates II. Antigonus

(c) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. (d) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. (e) A. M. 3371. Ant. J. C. 133. (f) A. M. 3499. Ant. J. C. 514. (g) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. (h) A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 366. (i) A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

suspecting

suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called Κτιστής, or *the Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

(*k*) Mithridates III. succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years.

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates, the great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

(*l*) He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces, who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V, and the first who was called a friend to the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

(*m*) He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI, surnamed Eupator. This is the great Mithridates who sustained so long a war with the Romans, and reigned sixty-six years.

Kings of Cappadocia.

(*n*) Strabo informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two Satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus: The other tracts constituted Cappadocia, properly so called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.

(*o*) When Alexander's captains divided the provinces

(*k*) A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. (*l*) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185. (*m*) A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123. (*n*) Strab. l. 12. p. 534. (*o*) A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father sometime after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of the history.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did much about the same time.

Kings of Armenia.

Armenia, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians; after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one, and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

Kings of Epirus.

Epirus is a province of Greece separated from Thesaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who established himself in that country, and called themselves Æacides, from Æacus the grand-father of Achilles.

The

(p) The genealogy of the last kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be dubious and obscure.

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings; and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate in that excellent school such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning effectually, and * as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip king of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government of Arymbas his elder brother by the credit of his son-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides his son ought to have been his successor; but Philip had still the credit to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander the son of Neoptolemus sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacidas then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troida, and one son the celebrated Pyrrhus.

(p) Diod. l. 16. p. 465. Justin. l. 8. c. 6. Plut. in Pyrrho.

* Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit. *Justin.* l. 17. c. 3.

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As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus; but having afterwards divested him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

(q) This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attack to make himself master of it.

Helenus his son reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

Tyrants of Heraclea.

Heraclea is a city of Pontus, antiently founded by the Bœotians, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

(r) When the Athenians were victorious over the Persians, and had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution. Lamachus was therefore sent against them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose natural ferocity might well have been increased, by the severe treatment they had lately received. But * they had

(q) A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271.
Died. l. 15. p. 390.

(r) Justin. l. 16. c. 3—5.

* Heraclienses honestiorem beneficii, quàm ultionis occasionem

rati, instructos commeatibus auxiliisque dimittunt; bene agrorum suorum

had recourse to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furnished him with provisions and troops for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendship of the Athenians at that price.

(s) Some time after this event, the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens and senators, who having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were necessitated to recal Clearchus a senator to their defence, whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals nor rendred him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the Tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

(t) Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, assumed his place, and pursued his conduct for the space of fifteen years.

(s) A. M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364.
J. C. 352.

(t) A. M. 3652. Ant.

suorum populationem impensam existimentes si, quos hostes habuerant, amicos reddidissent. *Justin.*

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(u) He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius, who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this last was soon destroyed, (x) Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus, whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heraclea.

(y) He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, and after a reign of thirty three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris.

This princess was rendered happy in her administration, by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her name; after which she transplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lyfimachus, after the death of Antigonus.

Kings of Syracuse.

(z) Hiero, and his son Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

(a) Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse. His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year (b). I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

(u) Diod. l. 16. p. 435. A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

(x) Diod. l. 16. p. 478.

(y) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

(z) A. M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269.

(a) A. M. 3780. Ant.

J. C. 215.

(b) A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213.

Other kings.

Several kings likewise reigned in the Cimmeric Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their history is very uncertain, and their successions have but little regularity.

These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the same period; I shall treat of each in their proper places.

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF

Alexander's Successors.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains the competition and wars that subsisted between the generals of Alexander, from the death of that prince to the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which decided their several fates. These events include the space of twenty-three years, which coincide with the first twenty-three years of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, from the year of the world 3681 to the year 3704.

SECT. I. Troubles which followed the death of Alexander. The partition of the provinces among the generals. Aridæus elected king. Perdiccas appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great in the preceding volume, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that arose in the army on the first news of that event. All the troops in general, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at first, with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and revered almost as a god, and abandoned themselves immoderately to grief
and

and tears. A mournful silence reigned throughout the camp, but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and cries, which speak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain ostentation of sorrow, which is too often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions *.

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to consider with the utmost consternation the state in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had sufficient time to forget their antient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection; how could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? What expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very desirous of this expedient; and indeed their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of

* *Passim silentia et gemitus: nihil compositum in ostentationem——altiùs mœrebant. Tacit.*

supporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, (c) *That the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and rent asunder, after his death, and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner to his posterity.* No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult, and decide*; nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invisible power had already disposed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements, but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed dispose of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a source of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was so superior to his colleagues either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire and submit to

(c) Dan. xi. 4.

* Non erit, non stabit, non fiet. *Isai.*

his authority. The cavalry were desirous that Aridæus should succeed Alexander. This prince had discovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned, as was pretended, by some particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had disordered his understanding. This ambitious princess being apprehensive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridæus, would be so many obstacles to the greatness of her son Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular establishment. For a sudden revolution was working in the minds of these officers, and caused them to contemn the rank of private persons, and all dependency and subordination, with a view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themselves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

(*d*) These disputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days, and if we may credit some authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner, and Aridæus, a different person from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers assembled at a conference, where it was unanimously concluded that Aridæus should be king, or rather that he should be invested with the shadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him

(*d*) Q. Curt. l. 10. Justin. l. 13. Diod. l. 18.

to it, and united all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdicas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the last moments of his life, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as a guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul some of his regulations, which had been destructive to the state and had exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of these structures at five hundred talents, which amounted to five hundred thousand crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

(e) Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Aridæus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were consigned to Lyfimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece were allotted to Antipater, and Craterus.

In Africa: Egypt, and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were assigned to

(e) Diod. l. 18. p. 587, 588. Justin. l. 13. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. 10. c. 10.

Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about seventeen years after this event.

In the lesser Asia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, and contented himself with a slight submission.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Arcesilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

(f) The same disposition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander having

(f) Maccab. l. i. n. 6, & 7.

assembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorize the declaration in the Maccabees, *That he divided his kingdom among them whilst he was living.*

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but short. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition alone was to subsist.

The partition concluded upon in the assembly, was the source of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history. Each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. (g) They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, some distinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined, that the resolutions which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

(b) Eumenes must however be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery. He

(g) Justin. l. 15. c. 2.
Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.

(b) Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Cor.

was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip, who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the quality of secretary, and reposed great confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his esteem. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion in Asia, and by whom he had a son named Hercules, had a sister of the same name with her own, and the king espoused her to Eumenes*. We shall see by the event, that this wise favourite conducted himself in such a manner as justly entitled him to the favour of those two princes, even after their death; and all his sentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a Plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

(i) I have already intimated in the preceding volume, that Syfigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and son, was incapable of surviving Alexander. (k) The death of this princess was soon followed by that of her two youngest daughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephestion. Roxana, who was apprehensive lest Statira should be pregnant by Alexander as well as herself, and that the birth of a prince would frustrate the measures which had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confident in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in upper Asia, and with the war which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because those

(i) Q. Curt. l. 10. c. 5. (k) Plut. in Alex.

* Arrian declares he had another wife. l. 7. p. 278.

transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct from the other events.

SECT. II. *The revolt of the Greeks in upper Asia. The impressions occasioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is first defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himself master of Athens, and leaves a garrison there. The flight and death of Demosthenes.*

(1) **T**HE Greeks, whom Alexander had established, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience those delights and satisfactions with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent desire of returning into their own country. They however durst not discover their uneasiness whilst Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions: They armed twenty thousand foot, all warlike and experienced soldiers, with three thousand horse, and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure without taking counsel, or receiving orders from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any superior.

Perdiccas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprize at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, sent Pithon to oppose them. The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all, and he willingly charged himself with this commission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in upper Asia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his design, gave a very surprizing order to the Macedonians whom he sent

(1) A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323. Died. l. 18. p. 591, 592.

with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon on his arrival brought over by money three thousand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a compleat victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, but made the preservation of their lives and liberties the condition of their submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's design, but he was no longer master of its execution. The Macedonians thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

(*m*) This expedition was soon succeeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumors, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece, made liberty the subject of all their discourse; they breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagant emotions of a senseless and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulence of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion rose up, and expressed himself in this manner, "If he be really dead to day, he will likewise be so to morrow and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with greater security."

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the

(*m*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, “Young man, your discourse resembles the cypress, which is tall and spreading, but bears no fruit.” He gave great offence by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides, rising up, asked him this question. “When would you advise the Athenians to make war? As soon,” replied Phocion, as I see the young men firmly resolved to observe a strict discipline; the rich disposed to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expence of a war; and when the orators no longer rob the public.”

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was resolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country under the conduct of Leosthenes against Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the first battle.

(*n*) Demosthenes, who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus to accede to the league.

The Athenians were struck with admiration at a zeal so noble and generous, and immediately passed a decree to recal him from banishment. A galley with three ranks of oars was dispatched to him at Ægina, and when he entered the port of Piræus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and

(*n*) Plut. in Demost. p. 858. Justin. l. 23. c. 5.

received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the same time with an air of sorrow and repentance for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him, and whilst he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country amidst the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven to thank the gods for so illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of desire and will, whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulsion upon their inclinations.

(o) The generality of those who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the consequences with all the attention and sedateness that an enterprize of so much importance required. They were sensible also that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable, and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, war was peace and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their sentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which presented them with nothing but scenes of future conquest and triumphs.

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this occasion, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province

(o) Diod. l. 18. p. 594—599.

to determine which of them had reason on his side; but in such a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing surprising in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was perhaps the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

However that were, a considerable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that composed the republic were left for the defence of Attica, the rest marched out with the rest of the allies, under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprized, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit their assistance; but before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonians and six hundred horse; the frequent recruits which he had sent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprizing that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it as such an inestimable advantage, as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preservation. He flattered himself that they had begun to familiarize themselves with subjection, and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the descendants of those who had so gallantly sustained all the efforts of the East, and fought a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Thessaly, and was followed by his fleet which cruized along the sea-coasts. It consisted of one hundred and ten *Triremes*, or gal-
lies

lies of three benches of oars. The Theſſalians declared at firſt in his favour, but having afterwards changed their ſentiments, they joined the Athenians, and ſupplied them with a great body of horſe.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not ſupport the charge, and was defeated in the firſt battle. As he durſt not hazard a ſecond, and was in no condition to make a ſafe retreat into Macedonia; he ſhut himſelf up in Lamia, a ſmall city in Theſſaly, in order to wait for the ſuccours that were to be tranſmitted to him from Aſia, and he fortified himſelf in that place, which was ſoon beſieged by the Athenians.

The aſſault was carried on with great bravery againſt the town, and the reſiſtance was equally vigorous. Leſthenes, after ſeveral attempts deſpairing to carry it by force, changed the ſiege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He ſurrounded it with a wall of circumvallation and a very deep ditch, and by theſe means cut off all ſupplies of proviſion. The city ſoon became ſenſible of the growing ſcarcity, and the beſieged began to be ſeriously diſpoſed to ſurrender, when Leſthenes, in a ſally they made upon him, received a conſiderable wound, which rendered it neceſſary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was conſigned to Antiphiſus, who was equally eſteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

(p) Leonatus in the mean time was marching to the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians beſieged in Lamia; and was commiſſioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals to eſtabliſh Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other meaſures in conſequence of ſome particular views. Leonatus, who repoſed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the en-

(p) A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 322. Plut. in Eumen. p. 534.

gagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master of Macedonia. He at the same time shewed him letters from Cleopatra the sister of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. Prosperity had introduced disorders in the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thousand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thousand five hundred, two thousand of whom were Thessalians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inaccessible to the pursuit of the Thessalians. The Greeks, having carried off their dead, erected a trophy and retired.

(*q*) The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. An universal joy spread through the city, festivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him, if he would not have rejoiced

(*q*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

to have performed so many glorious actions? “Un-
 “doubtedly I would,” replied Phocion, “but I
 “would not, at the same time, have neglected to
 “offer the advice I gave*.” He did not think, that
 a judgment ought to be formed of any particular
 counsel from mere success, but rather from the nature
 and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not re-
 tract his sentiments, because those of an opposite na-
 ture had been successful, which only proved the latter
 more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as
 these agreeable advices came thick upon each other,
 Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried
 out, *When shall we cease to conquer then?*

Antipater was obliged to surrender by capitulation,
 but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of
 the treaty: The event only makes it evident, that
 Leosthenes compelled him to surrender at discretion,
 and he himself died a few days after of the wounds
 he had received at the siege. Antipater having quitted
 Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have
 been favourably treated, joined the remains of the ar-
 my of Leonatus, and took upon him the command
 of those troops. He was extremely cautious of ha-
 zarding a second battle, and kept with his troops,
 like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences
 inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the
 general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in
 Thessaly, and contented himself with observing the
 motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, ob-
 tained, much about the same time, two victories near
 the islands of Echinades over Eetion the admiral of
 the Athenian navy.

(r) Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived
 at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Pencus.

(r) Died. l. 18. p. 599—602.

* Non damnavit quod recte vi-
 derat, quia, quod alius male con-
 sulerat, bene cesserat: feliciter hoc

existimans, illud etiam sapientius.
Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 8.

He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to serve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above forty thousand foot, three thousand archers or slingers, and five thousand horse. The army of the allies was much inferior to these troops in number, and consisted of no more than twenty-five thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they however lost but few troops, and even that disadvantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, assembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they should wait the return of those troops who had retired into their own country, or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately dispatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, persuading himself that he should facilitate the accomplishment of his designs by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negotiation, and the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops, and surrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being solely attentive to its separate advantage.

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those ancient asserters of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public, and the glory of

the nation ; who considered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmost expedition to their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour ; Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never subsisted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy, into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers ! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

(s) Antipater improved this desertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and consequently in no condition to defend herself against a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place ; and the people, in order to transfer upon those great men the reproach resulting from their declaration of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himself was at their head ; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the man-

(s) Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

ner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation imposed upon him by Leosthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been associated, in hopes that the appearance alone of so celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But surely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of an harangue uttered by a philosopher, who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be the speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his discourse, commanded him to be silent. But he did not treat Phocion in the same manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, “That he was disposed to contract a
“ friendship and alliance with the Athenians on the
“ following conditions: They should deliver up De-
“ mosthenes and Hyperides to him; the government
“ should be restored to its antient plan, by which all
“ employments in the state were to be conferred upon
“ the rich; that they should receive a garrison in the
“ port of Munychia; that they should defray all the
“ expences of the war, and also a large sum, the
“ amount of which should be settled.” Thus, according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly
income

income exceeded two thousand drachmas, were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very sensible, that the rich men who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependants much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace, who had nothing to lose, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation; but that philosopher judged otherwise. *They are very moderate for slaves, said he, but extremely severe for free men.*

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by some of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took possession of the place during the festival of the Great mysteries, and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession from the city to Eleusina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the most sensible affliction. "Alas!" said they, when they compared past times with those they then saw, "the gods, "amidst our greatest adversities, would formerly manifest themselves in our favour, during this sacred ceremonial, by mystic visions and audible voices, "to the great astonishment of our enemies, who "were terrified by them. But now, when we are "even celebrating the same solemnities, they cast an unpitying eye on the greatest calamities that can "happen to Greece: they behold the most sacred of "all days in the year, and that which is most agreeable to us, polluted and distinguished by the most "dreadful of calamities, which will even transmit "its

“ its name to this sacred time through all succeeding
“ generations.”

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thousand of them excluded from employments in the state by one of the stipulations in the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingred out a wretched life, amidst the contemptuous treatment they had justly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a false idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

(1) Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, politics, and history. (2) He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city, at the time we have mentioned, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

(x) The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell

(1) Athen. l. 12. p. 542.

(2) Diog. in Laert. in Demetr.

(x) Plut. in Demost. p. 859, 860.

chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents: And when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he dispatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The same Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a suppliant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: after which he spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promise; and was sensible that venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have satiated his fury upon him, he swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which soon produced its effect. When he found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domestics who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, from generation

ration to generation; and at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription. which was couched in two Elegiac verses: *Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece.* What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applause the next?

What I have already said of Demosthenes on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjunctures, wherein the honour and interest of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcilable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful sagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counsels; and if the Athenians had followed his counsels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

(y) He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip, and was very far from praising him like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was associated in an embassy to that prince, were continually praising the king of Macedonia at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. *What strange commendations are these?* replied Demo-

(y) Plut. in Demost. p. 853.

mosthenes.

mosthenes. *The first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; but none of them the praise of a king.*

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After he has shewn, that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. “The one*,” says he, “is more precise, the other more luxuriant. The one crowds all his forces into a smaller compass when he attacks his adversary, the other chooses a larger field for the assault. The one always endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the vivacity of his style, the other frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, in Cicero more nature and genius.”

(z) I have elsewhere observed another difference between these two great orators, which I beg leave to insert in this place. That which characterizes Demosthenes more than any other circumstance, and in which he has never been imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a solicitude to suppress all ostentation of wit: in a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not to the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him, from no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation in so amiable a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so sus-

(z) *In the discourse on the eloquence of the bar.*

* In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine semper, hic

frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

ceptible

ceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.

Cicero was sensible of all the estimation due to the eloquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was persuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his audience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was consistent with such a rigid exactness: he therefore judged it necessary to accommodate himself in some measure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his discourse. For which reason he had some regard to the agreeable, but, at the same time, never lost sight of any important point in the cause he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the interest of his country, and was not mistaken, as to please, is one of the most certain means of persuading: but at the same time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man in a bad cloak; with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was however prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recal several persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his disposition; and there is reason to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At least, it is certain that he had a considerable share in the administration of the republic from that time. As for those whose
recal

recal to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious situations, that were not so remote as their former settlements; and took his measures so effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live sequestred from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a settlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a set of unfortunate persons some alleviation of their calamities; and on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very desirous of distinguishing himself by that quality, but was sensible however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniencies of banishment.

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons, as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest men; and contented himself ~~with~~ removing from all authority such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that it had of excessive and licentious.

The conqueror, after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that softened her aspect, and by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige,
which

which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even said, that as young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands, (for after the death of Craterus, she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus,) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage; and if they were so unhappy as to be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way and were appeased by her conduct.

SECT. III. *Procession at the funeral of Alexander. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into possession of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, confederate against each other. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is slain there.*

(a) **M**UCH about this time the * funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could possibly render it the most pompous and august funeral that had ever been seen.

(a) A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. l. 18. p. 608—610.

* I could have wished it had been in my power to have explained several passages of this description in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done: but that

was was not possible for me to effect, though I had recourse to persons of greater capacity than myself.

When

When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful, but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the procession was to pass.

As soon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration, as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body of the chariot rested upon two axle-trees, that were inserted into four wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, representing the muscles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams or poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of four of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest of those creatures, and the largest, were chosen on this occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones with golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionic order, embellished with the leaves of acanthus. The inside was adorned with a blaze of jewels, disposed in the form of shells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard to a great distance.

The external decorations were disposed into four relieves.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid scepter in his hand, and surrounded, on one side, with a troop of Macedonians
in

in arms ; and on the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their manner. These were preceded by the king's equeuries.

In the second were seen elephants compleatly-harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the fore-part of their bodies ; and on the hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view several squadrons of horse ranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that seemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of gold, representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a square form, adorned with the heads of animals *, whose necks were encompassed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth ; to these were hung crowns, that glittered with the liveliest colours, and such as were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corps. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive-branches. The rays of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction

* The Greek word *τραχέλαφος* imports a kind of bart, from *trache* shin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays like those of lightning.

It may easily be imagined, that, in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot loaded like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the shocks that would frequently be unavoidable; a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axle-tree, to support the pavilion, by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators of this solemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred, would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other, for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous, that the corps should be conveyed to Æge in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had such extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to signalize his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corps in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, as they had proposed. It was, therefore, deposited, first

in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

(a) Freinfhemius, in his supplement to Livy, relates after Leo * the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was revered by the Mohammedans, as the monument, not only of an illustrious king, but of a great prophet.

(b) Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the pontic sea, were allotted to Eumenes, in consequence of the partition of the several governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and dispossess king Ariarathes of the sovereignty. This general resolution of sending troops and experienced commanders into the several provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own sovereigns, should have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to set each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandizement, they took other measures. Eumenes, seeing himself thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse and two hundred of his domestics well

(a) Lib. 133. (b) Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. 18. p. 599.

* This author lived in the 15th century.

armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thousand talents of gold, and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much esteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counsels. Eumenes was indeed a man of great solidity and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in person. Ariarathes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raised twenty thousand foot and a great body of horse: But he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family, and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all seditions: And this conduct was very judicious and absolutely necessary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very surprising manner: For the inhabitants finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and silver, set fire to their several habitations, and after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder, and the soldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

(c) Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he pass'd the winter season. During his residence in that country, he formed a resolution to

(c) A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Dioc. p. 606—609.

divorce Nicea the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time, when he thought that marriage subservient to his interest: But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes; his thoughts took a different turn, and he was desirous of espousing Cleopatra the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus, and, having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, she had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas dispatched Eumenes thither to propose his marriage to that princess, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the sister of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He therefore pass'd into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont to observe the motions of the new enemy: And in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy governor of Egypt in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thousand veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities which rendered them incapable of the service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at

the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. These provinces having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

(d) This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reason by gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all sorts of immunities and exemptions from imposts to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court in whom he confided the most; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprized to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of six thousand horse, capable of good service in the field.

(d) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

Perdiccas, having caused all his troops to file off the next spring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last, and it was concluded at the same time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus: And in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise declared him generalissimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas after this advanced towards Egypt through Damascene and Palestine. He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his designs with the royal authority.

(c) Eumenes spared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already pass'd the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They left nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised him the addition of new provinces to those he already possessed: But he was too steady * to be shaken by those offers in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to observe a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage: This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with so much care.

(c) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. 18. p. 610—613.

* Quem (Perdiccam) etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, amicum non deseruit, neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. *Corn. Nep. in Eum.* c. 3.

Neopto-

Neoptolemus saved himself with three hundred horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus, but the rest of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to assist Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid ; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of the army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the success of which is entirely to be ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the master-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were desirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his desire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as soon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would list themselves under his banners, and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive of that event. But in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, having caused a report to be spread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a second time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus, and issued an order, with very severe penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very rude ; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the dishonour of Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed several of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who opposed him ;

till at last, a Thracian wounded him in the flank when he fell from his horse. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not discover him till he was breathing his last.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who personally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seized each other, and their horses springing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and fought for a considerable time with the utmost fury and rage, till at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pushed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy spectacle, he could not refuse his tears to the death of an antient friend whom he had always esteemed; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

(f) In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different success. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himself with so much justice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas

(f) Diod. l. 18. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. 5.

had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers of them deserted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost two thousand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent with most of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days sooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and consequently the revolution that soon succeeded it, which proved so favourable to Ptolemy, and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECT. IV. *The regency is transferred to Antipater. Eumenes besieged by Antigonus in Nora. Jerusalem besieged and taken by Ptolemy. Demades put to death by Cassander. Antipater on his death-bed nominates Polyperchon for his successor in the regency. The latter recalls Olympias. Antigonus becomes very powerful.*

(g) PTOLEMY pass'd the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made such an artful improvement of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian

(g) Died. l. 18. p. 616—619.

state; and this decree authorized Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite, under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency: That there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could any way be considered as his own property; that upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation: whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy: He therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridæus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his

his care, and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the consort of king Aridæus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians; the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily resigned it, after they had sent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As soon as he was invested with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-established every person of the other party, who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the most powerful of all the successors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and assumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians, and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, sent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia, but left his son Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the person of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his designs.

(b) Jaddus the high priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years.

(b) A. M. 3683. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11, c. 8.

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I make this remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's successors.

(*i*) Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes, and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and lost eight thousand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle. (*k*) The traitor was soon punished for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and caused him to be hanged upon the spot.

(*l*) A conjuncture, which happened soon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to seize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the heart of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he sent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged for his preservation to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced: For, as Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conspicuous: whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over

(*i*) A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320. Dict. l. 18. p. 618—619.

(*k*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 588—590.

(*l*) Cor. Nep. in Eumen.

real meanness and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up, with five hundred men who were determined to share his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible, that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground, whose whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise; and where their horses, having scarce any room for motion, became sluggish and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horses. He suspended them, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roofs of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into the air by the aid of pulleys, and in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the extreme part of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition, the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which tormented the horses to such a degree, and forced them into such violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant, their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner,

sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

(*m*) The siege, or, more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

(*n*) During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy seeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, were as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions on that side for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view; determined to make himself master of those provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the same advantages on the coasts; by which means he became absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.

(*o*) After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that

(*m*) A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319.

(*o*) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 1.

(*n*) Diod. p. 621, 622.

it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themselves on the sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judæa with great severity, for he carried above a hundred thousand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt: but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose thirty thousand of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

(*p*) Much about this time Antipater fell sick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and solicit him to recall those troops: but he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious, that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia: But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness, and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a le-

(*p*, Died. l. 18. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

ter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; *which, as he expressed himself, were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread*, ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested; and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with insults, he also killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his son. It was impossible that such a barbarous proceeding should not be detested; but mankind are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree, by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the most antient of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in those employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was persuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy,

chy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past services. He had a son who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the same time, how amiable and glorious was it to select, on such an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and best qualified to serve the public effectually; to extinguish the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection: in a word, to continue so much master of one's penetration, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a son, and sacrifice all the interest of one's own family to the public welfare! History has transmitted to us an expression of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. *Augustus**, said he, *chose a successor out of his own family; and I one from the whole empire.*

Cassander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that respect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they possess as hereditary, and with this flattering persuasion, that the state is of no consequence in comparison with themselves: Never examining what is requisite to the posts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to sustain them, and considering only whether those posts are agreeable to their fortune. Cassander, not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He also secured to himself all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less, than to divest him of the whole.

* *Augustus in domo successorem quæsit: ego in republica, Tacit. hist. l. I. c. 15.*

(*q*) To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party, and they readily espoused it with the same views, and from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia minor, in conjunction with the title of generalissimo, and an army of seventy thousand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of resisting. It cannot therefore be thought surprizing, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of lesser Phrygia, and the Hellespont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

(*r*) Polysperchon neglected nothing on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest; and thought it adviseable to recal Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her.

(*q*) Diod. p. 630.
in Eumen. c. 6.

(*r*) Diod. l. 18. p. 626, & 634. Cor. Nep.

This princess dispatched a courier to Eumenes, to consult him on the proposal she had received ; and he advised her to wait some time, in order to see what turn affairs would take : adding, that if she determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries she thought she had received, that it would also be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others sensible of her authority by benefactions, and not by severity. As to all other particulars, he promised an inviolable attachment to herself and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia, where, upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, of which he foresaw Cassander would attempt to make himself master. He also took measures, with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the sequel.

(s) In order to engage the Greeks in his interest, he issued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinstated all the cities in their antient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-established their democracy and antient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without distinction into public offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion ; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of Athens, as was evident in a short time, he despaired of succeeding in that design, unless he could find some expedient to procure the banishment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater ; and he was therefore certain of accomplishing this scheme, as soon as those who had been excluded from the government, should be reinstated in their antient rights.

(s) Diod. p. 631, 632.

SECT. V. The Athenians condemn Phocion to die. Cassander makes himself master of Athens, where he establishes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of that republic. His prudent administration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonius, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, against him. Olympias causes Aridæus to be slain, and is murdered in her turn by the orders of Cassander. The war between him and Polysperchon. The re-establishment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonius, and put to death.

(1) **C**ASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortrefs of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of Piræus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of succouring the city against Nicanor, but in reality, to seize it into his own power if possible, in consequence of the divisions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous assembly, in which Phocion was divested of his employment of general, while Demetrius Phalereus, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to see himself accused of treason, took sanctuary with Polysperchon, who sent him back to be tried by the people. An assembly was immediately convoked on that occasion, from which neither slaves, strangers, nor any infamous persons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the established rules, notwithstanding which, Phocion and

(1) Diod. l. 18. p. 638—642.

the other prisoners were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and covering their heads wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the slaves and strangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out, that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens for the person accused to declare, before sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer. Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the assembly to spare the rest. Upon this the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus and some others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the sorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion still retained the same air and countenance, as he had formerly shewn, when he quitted the assembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own house with the voice of praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced up to him, and spit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, *Will no body hinder this man from acting so unworthily?* When he arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? *Yes certainly,* replied he, *it is to desire, that he would never remember the injustice of the Athenians.* When he
had

had uttered these words, he took the hemlock and died.

On that day there was also a public procession, and it passed before the prison, some of the persons who composed it took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen so universally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of, *The Good* *.

To punish † the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes, and to repay the best of services with the most inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law. The regulations of her sage legislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not satisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and believing some particulars were still wanting to compleat their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body should be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should contribute the least quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile: These last offices were therefore rendered

* Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus est appellatus. *Cor. Nep.*

† Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere? Quid cum ubique, tum præcipuè Athe-

nis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adversus ingratos ac constituta est—Quantum ergo reprehensionem merentur, qui cum æquissima jura sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, moribus suis, quam legibus uti maluerint? *Val. Max.* l. 5. c. 3.

to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally assisted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph or vacant tomb to be erected to his memory on the same spot; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: *Dear and sacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in order to restore them hereafter to the monument of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser than they are at present.*

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last, it will however be always thought surprizing, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after such a series of great actions, should be capable of such a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer listen to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice, ought to be considered as a blind, intractable, and cruel monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the best, the justest, and most innocent of mankind will sink under an implacable
and

and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit were united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterest higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any inquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable, when the interests of the republic were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity, that his enemies themselves, always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal; he could sometimes assume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconsiderable merit, and especially

especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two such different characters in such a manner, that as the severity which was necessary for the preservation of good order, was never seen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion in others; so the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never sunk into that softness and indifference which occasions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and policy two different professions; and also for restoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Aristides, by uniting each of those talents in himself.

As he was persuaded, that eloquence was essential to a statesman, and especially in a republican government; he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assiduity and success. His was concise, solid, full of force and sense, and close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poignant and satiric style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. (u) An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions, he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his own discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclinable to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that these elections always happened when he was absent, without any previous solicitations on his part. His wife was sufficiently sensible how much this was for his glory, and one day when an Ionian lady of considerable rank, who lodged in her house, shewed her, with an air of ostentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone: *For my part, I have*

(u) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

no ornament but Phocion, who, for these twenty years, has always been elected general of the Athenians.

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and sustained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government, and, with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune.

The interest of the public never gave way with him to any domestic views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his son-in-law Charicles, who was summoned before the republic, to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus, and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression. *I have made you my son-in-law, but only for what is honest and honourable.* It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very incommodious and insupportable in the common transactions of life: They are always starting difficulties*, when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. We must always deliberate whether what we request of such persons be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little ascendant over them as utter

* Hæc prima lex in amicitia fanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minimè

accipienda, cùm in cæteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. *Cic. de Amicit. n. 40.*

strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience or some particular duties to antient friendship, affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus*. Phocion who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledged no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion who merited an happier end; and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after

* Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiæ iccutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia, poten-

tiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant—Civis, senator, maritus, amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus. *Tacit. hist. l. 4. c. 5.*

his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably entered his bones at the public expence. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity than them? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by a brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

(x) Cassander was careful to improve the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But they stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed, that those, whose income amounted to ten minæ or a thousand drachmæ, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was the qualification for public employments, when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Cassander to chuse what citizen he pleased to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 105th olympiad. The ten years government therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republic in peace; he constantly

(x) Diod. l. 18. p. 642.

treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildness and humanity ; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Cassander. This prince seemed inclinable to tyranny, but the Athenians were not sensible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republic, was invested with a kind of sovereign power, yet instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re-established it. He acted in such a manner, that the people scarce perceived that he was master. As he united in his person the politician and the man of letters, his soft and persuasive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used ; that discourse had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conspicuous* ; for he produced speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarise her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult therefore to have found a person capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the study of the sciences.

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble structures ; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out on theatres †, porticos, and new temples ; and openly cen-

* Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modò in solem atque pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque perduxit—Qui utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinæ studiis, et regenda civitate princeps esset, quis facile præter hunc inveniri potest ? *Cic. l. 3. de leg. n. 15.*

† Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundiùs reprehendo propter Pompeium : sed doctissimi improbant—ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperabat quòd tantam pecuniam in præclara illa propylæa conjecerit. *Cic. l. 2. de Offic. n. 60.*

fured Pericles, for having bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticos of the temple of Pallas, called (y) *Propylæa*. But in all public feasts which had been consecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

(z) The expence was excessive at the death of great persons, and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to abolish this abuse which had passed into a custom, and inflicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, *mensam*; and he appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.

(a) He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young persons to testify respect for their parents at home; and in the city to those whom they met in their way, and to themselves, when they were alone.

(b) The poor citizens were likewise the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, some of the descendants of Aristides, that Athenian general, who after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a very considerable time, died so poor, that the publick was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of those descendants, who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistence.

(c) Such, says Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we shall soon relate.

(y) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818.
n. 63.—66.

(a) Diog. Laert.

(z) Cic. de Leg. l. 2.
(b) Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 535.

(c) Ælian. l. 3. c. 17.

The advantageous testimonials rendered by ancient authors of the greatest repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise his virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct, is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment ; and strengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who supposes, that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. (d) The reader may have recourse to the dissertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.

(e) During the 105th olympiad Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty-one thousand (f) citizens, ten thousand (g) strangers, and * forty thousand (h) domestics.

(i) We now return to Polysperchon. When he had received intelligence, that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in that city ; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megara to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polysperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He dispatched Clitus to the Hellespont, with orders to prevent the enemies troops

(d) Tom. 8. des memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres.

(e) Athen. l. 6. p. 272.

(f) Ἀθηναίους.

(g) μετόικους.

(h) οἰκέτας.

(i) Diod. l. 18. p. 642.—646.

* The words in the original are μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα, forty myriads, which are equal to four hundred thousand, which is an evident mistake, and it undoubtedly ought to be read τεσσαράς, four myriads, which amount to forty thousand.

from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicanor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very seasonable juncture, made himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus and took all his fleet, except the vessel of Clitus, which escaped with great difficulty.

(k) Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up, for twelve months, in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a second attempt to engage him in his interest, for he had taken measures to that effect, before he formed that siege. He accordingly consigned this commission to Jerom of Cardia his countryman, and a famous historian of that time *, who was authorized by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negotiation with so much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the siege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inserted in the oath which Eumenes was to swear in consequence of this accommodation, that he would consider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and swore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then desired the Macedonians who assisted at the siege, to determine which of these two forms was best; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the least hesitation, for the

(k) Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

* He compiled the history of those who divided the dominions of Alexander among themselves, and it likewise comprehended the history of their successors.

form

form drawn up by Eumenes ; upon which he swore to it, and the siege was immediately raised.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders however came too late, for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and saved himself in Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled two thousand of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings, having occasioned a great alarm, Polyperchon the regent dispatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia minor ; others were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join, and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the kings treasures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expence of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

(1) Eumenes was very sensible that the accumulation of all these honours on the head of a stranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians : But as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refusing the sums which were granted

(1) A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C. 318. Died. l. 18. p. 635, 636 & 663. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591—593. Cor. Nep. c. 7.

him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprize of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a stranger, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraspides, thought it dishonourable to their nation, to submit to a stranger, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and consent to such a degradation. An ingenious fiction disengaged him from this perplexity, and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and seldom fails of accomplishing its effect. He assured them, “ That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his slumber, and shewn him a magnificent tent, in which a Throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he himself would be always present, seated on that throne ; from whence he would issue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their designs and enterprizes, provided they would always address themselves to him.” This discourse was sufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince : In consequence of which they immediately

diately ordered “ a splendid tent to be erected, and
 “ a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the*
 “ *throne of Alexander* ; and on this were to be laid
 “ his diadem and crown, with his scepter and arms ;
 “ that all the chiefs should resort thither every morn-
 “ ing to offer sacrifices ; that their consultations
 “ should be held near the throne, and that all orders
 “ should be received in the name of the king, as if
 “ he were still living, and taking care of his king-
 “ dom.” Eumenes calmed the dispute by this ex-
 pedient, which met with unanimous approbation.
 No one raised himself above the others, but each
 competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privi-
 leges, till new events decided them in a more positive
 manner.

(*m*) As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thousand men, in the season of spring. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all sorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraspidæ. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempts by the emissaries he had in his camp, but neither the one, nor the other, could succeed then, so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the confidence they reposed in him.

He advanced, with these affectionate troops, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had seized with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewise have been capable of transmitting all necessary succours to each other. Could Eumenes have succeeded in this design, it would have been a decisive blow ; but the fleet of Polyperchon having been entirely destroyed by the mis-conduct of Clitus,

(*m*) Diod. l. 18. p. 636—638.

who commanded it, that misfortune rendred his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœlosyria, after which he passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Mesopotamia.

(*n*) During his continuance in those parts, he sent to Pithon, governour of Media, and to Seleucus, governour of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings to be shewn them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They answered, that they were ready to assist those monarchs, but that as to his own particular, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and subjecting their troops to his command, they must also have acknowledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as of those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their names, to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus, must therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from those kings, and might be divested of them, at their pleasure, and by vertue of the first order, to that effect, which would have destroyed all their ambitious pretensions with a single stroke.

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves, after his death, were solicitous to secure themselves the supreme power in their several provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the

(*n*) *Died.* l. 19. p. 660, 661.

title of sovereign, in order to have sufficient time to establish their usurpations under a weak government. But all these measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendant over them, with such an air of superiority, as subjected them to his orders. He issued them indeed in the name of the kings ; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and at the same time it created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprizes. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest share of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most steady in his resolutions ; for he never broke his engagements with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were incamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the banks from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

(o) Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Susa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment, while he solicited all the governors of the provinces in upper Asia, for succours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings, and those whom he had charged with that commission, found them all assembled, at the close of a war they had undertaken in concert against Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having pursued the very same

(o) Diod. l. 19. p. 662.—664. Plut. in Eumen.

measures in the upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the lower, had caused Philotas to suffer death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him : Not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive than ever, of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above twenty thousand men. With this reinforcement, he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but still much superior in the number of his troops. The season was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tygris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in (p) Mesopotamia ; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.

(q) During these transactions, Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polyperchon had recalled, had made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of King for six years and four months, to be

(p) A. M. 3687, Ant. J. C. 317. (q) Diod. l. 19. p. 659, 660.
put

put to death. Eurydice his consort sustained the same fate ; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of chusing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderers. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but advanced thither, and besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march ; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends, and Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a sett of faithful domestics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no recourse but only from Polyperchon, who was then in Perrhœbia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to succour her ; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he besieged him. Olympias, who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now lost all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Cassander, in order to destroy her, in a manner
that

that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers whom Olympias had caused to be slain during her regency, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance for the cruelties she had committed. The request of these persons was granted ; and when they had all been heard, she was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interposed his good offices in her defence. After sentence of death had passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accomodate her with a galley, to convey her thither, whenever she should be so disposed. His intention was to destroy her in her passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidst their displeasure, at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves : for he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was therefore desirous of casting upon providence, all the odious circumstances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether she had been advertised of Cassander's design, or whether she was actuated by sentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, imagined her presence alone would calm the storm, and answered, with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourse to flight, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly ; adding, this was the least favour that could be granted a queen, or rather that it was an act of justice, which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Cassander had no inclination to consent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions, he therefore sent two hundred soldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her : but as resolute as they were in themselves, they were incapable of supporting the air of majesty which appeared

peared in the eyes and aspect of that princess ; and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death, and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court to Cassander. Thus perished the famous Olympias, the daughter, the sister, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited so tragical a period of her days, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties ; but it is impossible to see her perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince who deprived her of life in so unworthy a manner.

(r) Cassander already beheld an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition ; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illustrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grantees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himself, in consequence of the esteem and respect they testified for the royal family.

There was still one obstacle more to be surmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed an usurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became necessary therefore to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Cassander *, emboldened by the success of his former crime, was determined to commit a second, from whence he expected to de-

(r) Diod. l. 19. p. 695—697.

* *Haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio. Tacit.*

rive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias ; for if they shewed themselves insensible, at the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young king and his mother, would affect them as little. He therefore judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate steps, to the execution of his scheme. In order to which he began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a good escort commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended by his next step, to make it evident that he claimed sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of king Philip, or Aridæus, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the usage of such mourning as was customary in solemnities of that nature, and caused the royal remains to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian kings ; affecting by these exteriors of dissembled sorrow, to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction of the young king.

Polysperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Cassander to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he had sustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops, to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of Æacides ; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where

where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were seen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city which was once so powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years he endeavoured to re-instate it in its primitive splendor ; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and several towns and cities of Italy, Sicily and Greece, bestowed considerable sums on that occasion by voluntary contributions : By which means Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponnesus, against Alexander the son of Polysperchon, and marched directly to Argos, that surrendered without resistance, upon which all the cities of the Messenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle ; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviseable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

(s) As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous, was accepted by Alexander without any hesitation ; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately slain soon after, by some

(s) Dion. l. 19. p. 705—708.

citizens of Sicyone, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however did not produce the effects expected from it ; for Cratefipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the sight of this fatal accident, and as she was beloved by the soldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle ; after which she caused thirty of the most mutinous among them to be hung up ; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard any mention of her conduct.

(*t*) Whilst Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy, and having taken the field, the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes ; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander ; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications ; for next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.

(*u*) Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of those governors thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the

(*t*) A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316. (*u*) Diod. l. 19. p. 669—672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

pomp, splendor and magnificence affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them who assumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in consequence of a mistaken and ill-timed Ambition *, but very customary with great men, that to give sumptuous repasts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleasure and gratify sense, were part of the duties of a soldier of rank ; and estimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expences, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the consideration and esteem for them imaginable.

(x) A circumstance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them : As the soldiers were marching in quest of the enemy, Eumenes, who was seized with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a considerable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made some advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rising grounds, they halted on a sudden and began to call for Eumenes. At the same time, they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march, till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hastening the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter : He then stretched out his hands to the soldiers and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed their bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke loud acclamations of victory, and

(x) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

* Non deerant qui ambitione
stolida ——— luxuriosos apparatus
conviviorum et irritamenta libi-

dinum ut instrumenta belli mer-
carentur, *Tacit.*

defiance to their enemies, as if they desired only to see their general at their head.

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and caused himself to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands, but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their chearful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud vein of laughter, in his usual manner, and addressing himself to one of his officers. *Take notice,* said he, *of yonder litter ; it is that which has drawn up those troops against us, and is now preparing to attack us.* And then, without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all the other Satrapæ exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and dispose great feasts, but that they esteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications ; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders, who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themselves without thanks by those ridiculous expences. I say without thanks, because no body thinks himself obliged to them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

(y) The two armies having separated without any previous engagement, encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and several large pools of water between them ; and as they sustained great inconveniencies because the whole

(y) Diod. p. 672.

country was eaten up, Antigonus sent ambassadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them at the same time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors, with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable.

“ A lion entertaining a passion for a young virgin,
 “ demanded her one day in marriage of her father,
 “ whose answer was, that he esteemed this alliance a
 “ great honour to him, and was ready to present his
 “ daughter to him ; but that his large nails and teeth
 “ made him apprehensive lest he should employ them
 “ a little too rudely upon her, if the least difference
 “ should arise between them with relation to their
 “ household affairs. The lion who was passionately
 “ fond of the maid, immediately suffered his claws
 “ to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out.
 “ After which the father caught up a strong cudgel
 “ and soon drove away his pretended son-in-law.
 “ This, continued Eumenes, is the aim of Antigonus.
 “ He amuses you with mighty promises, in order to
 “ make himself master of your forces, but when he
 “ has accomplished that design, he will soon make
 “ you sensible of his teeth and claws.”

(z) A few days after this event, some deserters from the army of Antigonus, having acquainted Eumenes, that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at first suspected, that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of subsisting numerous armies, and very commodious and secure for the troops, by reason of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded, and therefore he resolved to prevent his

(z) Diod. p. 672, 673.

execution of that design. With this view he prevailed, by sums of money, upon some foreign soldiers, to go like deserters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the ensuing night. In the mean time he caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take some refreshment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was soon informed by couriers, that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he still persisted in his first intention ; and having ordered his troops to strike their tents, he proceeded with so much expedition, that his march resembled a pursuit. But when he saw that it was impossible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had gained upon him, at least six hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear guard of the enemy who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top, and Eumenes who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army, upon which he discontinued his march and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn ; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.

(a) The two armies were then drawn up ; that of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, with above six thousand horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full,

a Diod. p. 673—678.

but the slaughter was not very considerable on either side. Antigonus lost three thousand seven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horse, and above four thousand of his men were wounded : Eumenes lost five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his side, but as his troops, notwithstanding all his intreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which, among the ancients, was an evidence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day to desire leave to inter his slain ; this was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

(*b*) A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the slain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country, which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband ; and if she refused to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood, the remainder of her days : She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife, but in the present instance, there were two ; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years ; to which the youngest replied, that the law excluded her rival, because she was then pregnant, and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if she had

(*b*) Died. p. 678—680.

sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations, and having taken her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators ; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life ; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a deposit, which ought to be resigned to none but that Being from whom we received it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to a husband ; that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.

(c) During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign ; and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged

(c, *Diod. l. 19. p. 680—684.*

Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

(*d*) The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other, to be assembled on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed to such a distance from each other, that it required several days for re-assembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprize these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be surprized in such a manner, but had the precaution to dispatch to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters ; this furnished him with an expedient to save his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him, on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined, all the army were incamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed by his advanced guard, that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement

(*d*) Diod. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. 8—12.

with fresh troops, he caused them to halt that they might have time to recover themselves a little ; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary, for assembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the *Argyraspides*, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the *fatrapæ* and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those Barbarians, and extinguish their jealousy ; and he must have renounced his merit and virtue which occasioned it, to have been capable of appealing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with brute beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of pressing necessity, many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them, by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the sums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies however being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplishing their intentions.

intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him near the spot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence, should be exposed to any accusation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus disposed of his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to pursue. It was then, a thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind : Could it possibly be prudent in him, to repose any confidence in those officers and generals, who had sworn his destruction ? Might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him ? On the other hand, would it not be his best expedient, to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence ; where he might hope for a sure asylum from danger ? Or, in order to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies ? For in a situation so desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rise up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors ! This last thought, however, infused a horror into his soul ; and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latest breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of

the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, and above six thousand horse, with four hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. This general posted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a first line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon ; that of the right he assigned to his son Demetrius, where he was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner ; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well ; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraspides, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with assurances, that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops, who had served under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats ; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action ; for which reason, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation : *Villains ! you now fight with your fathers !* They then broke in upon the infantry with irresistible fury, not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a sandy
soil,

soil, the motion of the men and horses raised such a thick gloom of dust, as made them incapable of seeing to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry, a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain ; the confusion was universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been compleat in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes ; for the soldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, instead of employing their swords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promised to accomplish, they turned all their fury against their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him, forced his sword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promised to restore them all their baggage on that condition. “ Kill me, O soldiers,” said Eumenes as he passed by them, “ kill me yourselves, I conjure ye in the name of all the gods ! for though I perish by the command of Antigonus, my death will however be as much your act as if I had fallen by your swords. If you are unwilling to do me that office with your own hands, permit me, at least, to discharge it by one of mine. That shall render me the service which you refuse me. On this condition I absolve you from all the severities you have reason to apprehend

F 4

“ from

“ from the vengeance of the gods, for the crime
“ you are preparing to perpetrate on me.”

Upon this they hastened him along to prevent the repetition of such pathetic addresses, that might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left scarce a single man in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As those who guarded him asked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept : *As you would an elephant,* replied he, *or a lion,* which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion, and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains ; he likewise appointed one of his own domesticks to serve him, and permitted his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends, when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity re-kindled some tender sentiments in his favour, and combated for a while his interest. His son Demetrius also solicited strongly in his favour ; passionately desiring, in mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be destroyed in prison.

Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not indeed the
fortune

fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave without temerity ; and prudent without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it, and he gradually rose to the highest stations, and might even have aspired to a throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, spirited by a motive most capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither sincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most sacred laws ; Eumenes always retained inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicissitude of fortune, nor any elevation had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him insupportable to his colleagues ; for it frequently happens *, that virtue creates enmities and aversions, because it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree ; or, in other words, he was a compleat master of the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foresight, a wonderful fertility of invention for stratagems and resources in the most unexpected dangers, and most desperate conjunctures : But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity, and those sentiments of honour which prevailed in him, and were always inseparable from the other shining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence and enflamed their envy ; a defect too frequently visible in persons of high rank. These satrapæ, full of themselves, saw with jealousy

* *Industriæ innocentiaque quasi malis artibus infensi——etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. Tacit.*

and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from antient and illustrious families : As if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and consented to render him the utmost honours ; his death having extinguished all their envy, and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in an urn of silver, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia ; poor compensation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans !

S E C T. VI. *Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Cassander, form a confederacy against Antigonus. Who deprives Ptolemy of Syria and Phœnicia, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, begins to make himself known in Asia minor. He loses a first battle, and gains a second. Seleucus takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. Cassander causes the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, to be put to death. Hercules, another son of Alexander the Great, is likewise slain, with his mother Barsina, by Polysperchon. Antigonus causes Cleopatra, the sister of the same Alexander, to be put to death. The revolt of Ophellus in Libya.*

(e) **A**NTIGONUS, concluding that he should be master of the empire of Asia for the future, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better security. He discarded all the governors he suspected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable

(e) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. Diod. l. 19. p. 689—692, & 697—698.

to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, were among these latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise minuted down in his list of proscriptions, but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse ; but a motive, still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience ; their example therefore was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery ; he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.

(f) Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lyfimachus and Cassander, whom he had also convinced, by an express, of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very sensible that Seleucus would not fail to solicit them into measures against his interest, for which reason he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new assurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such assurances from a perfidious man, who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues ? The answers

(f) A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Diod. p. 698—700.

therefore

therefore which he received made him sufficiently sensible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war : Upon which he quitted the East, and advanced into Cilicia with very considerable treasures which he had drawn from Babylon and Susa. He there raised new levies, regulated several affairs in the provinces of Asia minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

(g) His design was to divest Ptolemy of those two provinces, and make himself master of their maritime forces, which were absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phœnicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprize the ships ; for Ptolemy had already sent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports ; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were soon taken, but a considerable length of time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already master of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building vessels, and a vast number of trees were cut down, for that purpose, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypress trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built, in which work he employed several thousand men. In a word, with these ships, and others, that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a considerable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who with a

hundred ships that Ptolemy had sent him, sailed up to Tyre, in sight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilst he was engaged in the siege of that city. And in reality, this insult had greatly discouraged his troops, and given his allies such an impression of his weakness as was very injurious to him. In order therefore to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he sent for the principal allies, and assured them, he would have such a fleet at sea that summer as should be superior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promise before the expiration of the year.

(*b*) But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Cassander gained upon him by land in Asia minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his son Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the sequel of this history, and I shall soon point out his particular character.

(*i*) Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities ; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions, and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with gaining a place of such importance on any conditions whatever ; and especially after a siege which had harassed his troops so exceedingly for fifteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-establish it ; and yet in so short a time it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great re-

(*b*) A. M. 3691. Ant. J. C. 313.

(*i*) Diod. p. 703.

sources derived from commerce ; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendor. This city was then the center of all the traffick of the East and West.

(k) Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be surnamed Poliorcetes *, which signifies Taker of Cities, was the son of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleasing sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his aspect †, and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majestic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and astonish. When he had no affairs to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuousness inseparable from his feasts, luxury, and his whole manner of living ; and it may be justly said, that he was the most voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprize to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind : Nothing but his patience and assiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which distinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation or ceremony, but was sincere and real, and the growth of the heart itself. Anti-

(k) Plut. in Demet. p. 339, 390.

* The word is derived from πολιορκεῖν, to besiege a city, whose root is πόλις, a city, and ἔρκος, a fence, a trench, a bulwark.

† Τοῦ αὐτοῦ χάριν καὶ βάρ-

ρῶς, καὶ φόβον ὃ ὦραν εἶχε, καὶ συνεκράτο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμύμητος ἡρώϊκή τις ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης.

gonus,

gonus, on his part, had a tenderness and affection for his son, that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the sovereign and the father; and this created a union and confidence between them, entirely free from all fear and suspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chace, advanced into the great hall, where he saluted his father with a kiss, and then seated himself at his side, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, but he ordered them to be introduced a second time; *You may likewise inform your masters,* said he, *of the manner in which my son and I live together.* Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms*, and that this good intelligence that subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it affected him with the most sensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

(1) Antigonus having passed into Asia, soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigorously, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it, by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties were considered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing. These unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to those as so many circumstances essential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of

(1) Diod. l. 19. p. 10.

* Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

their abilities in government, and were never sensible that such proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who by revolting from their authority, only trod in the same paths which they themselves had already marked out. By such contagious examples, a whole age is soon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all sentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common no longer appears shameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining considerable advantages over him in another quarter.

(*m*) He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus, and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles king of Paphos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered some of his officers in Cyprus to destroy him ; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly intreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince consented to the proposal, and, seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to treat the queen Axithca, and the other princesses whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these

(*m*) Diod. l. 20. p. 761.

princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they slew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became master of that island, made a descent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. This occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand more made prisoners : He likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia on the frontiers of upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœlo-syria to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends and domestics, without any ransom, and caused it to be declared to him, *That they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory* ; and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments ? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a benefaction, but to furnish him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests.

quests. All the coast of Phœnicia submitted to him, except the city of Tyre ; upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master ; to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to besiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrian's fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy ; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him, but he was deceived again. The king of Egypt, instead of any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him, when he was introduced to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprize, might naturally have been ; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness and resolution of a consummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and vicissitudes of arms ; in a word, he fortified the cities and was continually exercising his soldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle, without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, *Ptolemy has defeated boys, but shall soon have men to deal with* ; and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his forces against Ptolemy.

(n) Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully per-

(n) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. l. 19. p. 729.

suaded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria ; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat : but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took seven thousand of his men prisoners, even seized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him less than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himself with respect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately sent back Cilles, with all his friends loaden with magnificent presents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly something very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner ; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting him.

(o) Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thousand foot, and three hundred horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this small escort to the East, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrison join his troops, partly by consent, and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns, for the moderation of his government had rendred him greatly beloved in that province ; whilst the severity of Antigonius was

(o) Diod. p. 726—728.

universally detested. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the castle, but as Seleucus was master of the city, and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress ; and there found his children, friends, and domestics, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions, and he was hardly re-instated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, passed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to surprize him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a dissatisfaction in the service of Antigonus, or else from the apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power ; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him,

him, in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

(*p*) With this entry into Babylon, commences the famous *Æra* of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the East, as well Pagans, as Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The Jews called it the *Æra* of Contracts, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the *Æra* of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to some authors, who declare that the sculptors represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the *Æra* of the Greeks, and use it in their dates, with this difference however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other, in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

(*q*) Antigonus was at Celænæ, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy ; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event. He crossed mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza ; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœlosyria, subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.

(*p*) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. (*q*) Diod. p. 729.

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(*r*) The inhabitants of these provinces, who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any constraint ; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue subject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment : they were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy ; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very easy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He therefore settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there ; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there found a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more of the inhabitants desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria, and they accomplished that design upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who settled there, under his government, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians ; and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.

(*s*) Antigonus, after he had re-possest himself of Syria and Judæa, sent Athenæus, one of his gene-

(*r*) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 1. & contr. Appian. l. 1. & 2.

(*s*) Diod. p. 730—733.

rals, against the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made several inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, so called by the Greeks, because it was situated on a high rock, in the middle of a desert country. Athenæus made himself master of the place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by surprize in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops; they likewise killed him on the spot; regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings, but as soon as he had assembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his son Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers: but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or retake Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

(*t*) Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the success of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither, at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and dispossess him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coasts of Asia minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered his son to join him, after he had executed his commission in the East. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, assembled the army at Damascus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any opposition. Patroclus, who had been entrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist De-

(*t*) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demetr. p. 891.

metrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all saved themselves ; some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the deserts, and the rest in places of security.

Demetrius caused the castles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and strengthened with good garrisons on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of seven thousand men. The other sustained the siege till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. This prince therefore left Archelaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure he caused Babylon to be plundered ; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus : even those who, till then, had espoused the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of desertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party ; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, that immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the castle they had possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner, that nothing was capable of shaking it. This therefore is the Epochæ to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia place it six months sooner, and in the preceding year.

(u) Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia minor, obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus, and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus ; by which it was stipulated, that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace ; Ptolemy, Egypt ; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Asia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty ; but this accommodation was of no long duration : and indeed it is surprizing, that princes, so well acquainted with each other, and sensible that the sacred solemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delusion, should expect any success from an expedient that had been practised so frequently in vain, and was then so much in disgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hostilities were renewed. The true reason was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became so formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any satisfaction, till they had reduced him.

It was manifest that they were only solicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient, and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to make him acquainted with the state of his affairs. Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding, the destruction of his own measures, caused the young king and his mother Roxana to be secretly put to death, in the castle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for some years.

(u) Diod. p. 739. Plut. in Demetr. p. 892.

(x) Polyperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and made the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplant him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entring Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about seventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himself advanced with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raise himself a master ; but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the sovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own assistance for that purpose. This discourse easily prevailed upon him to sacrifice the young prince to Cassander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, suffered the same fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her son had before from Cassander, and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a sovereign, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions, by the murder of those princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander, their master

(x) A. M. 3694. Ant. J. C. 310. Diod. l. 20. p. 760, 761, & 766, 767.

and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so perfidious, and, at the same time, so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

(y) Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles king of Paphos to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.

(z) In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

(a) He then sailed into the Ægæan sea, and made himself master of the isle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who had espoused Alexander king of Epirus, and at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated. This princess, after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided at Sardis in Lydia; but as Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary respect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her discontent, in order to gain her

(y) Diod. p. 760. (z) Diod. p. 766. (a) A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308. Diod. p. 774. Ibid. 775.

over to his interest. With this intention, he invited her to an interview in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then secretly destroyed her. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder to be proceeded against.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arms of the Almighty fell upon all the race of Alexander, and with what severity it pursued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curse consumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even used the ministration of his courtiers, officers and domestics, to render the severity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had suffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the deity, in the execution of his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account, because he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wished he could be capable of concealing from the observation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plausible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the publick, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But so deep a strain of hypocrisy as this, usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action, was not the
only

only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power, on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people ; and, by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for several generations : but the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacles to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity ; in consequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, came to fail him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not secure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an insurrection much about this time, gave him a just inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no sinister effect. This officer had served first under Alexander, and after the death of that prince, had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy entrusted him with the command of the army, which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When those two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was sensible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

Agathocles, king of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, won by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of twenty thousand men in the Carthaginian territories ; but he had scarce arrived

there, before the perfidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellus, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty ; her name was Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECT. VII. *Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, besieges and takes Athens, and establishes a democracy in that city. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to suffer death, and his statues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The excessive honours rendered by the Athenians to Antigonus and his son Demetrius. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamina, and makes himself master of all the island of Cyprus. Antigonus and Demetrius assume the title of Kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. Antigonus forms an enterprize against Egypt, which proves unsuccessful.*

(b) **ANTIGONUS** and Demetrius had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of slavery, by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polyperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish aristocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation

(b) A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306. Plut. in Demetr. p. 892—894.

of

of the policy which had been so frequently employed against the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Persians, that had always succeeded ; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures in a better manner, than by opening the scene with the signal of democratic liberty in Athens, which was not only the most jealous, but was likewise at the head of all the other republics.

When the siege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he should happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himself, as the key of all Greece ; but he entirely rejected that proposal, and replied, “ that the
“ best and strongest key which he knew, was the
“ friendship of the people ; and that Athens being
“ in a manner the light by which all the world steer-
“ ed, would not fail to spread universally the glory
“ of his actions.” It is very surprising to see in what manner princes who are very unjust and self-interested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generosity, and are solicitous of doing themselves honour by assuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius set out for Athens with five thousand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the space of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Cassander ; and the republic, as I have already observed, never experienced a juster government, or enjoyed a series of greater tranquillity and happiness. The citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour, as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and sixty, for, at that time, the year, according to Pliny *, was limited to this number of days. An honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

* Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente. *Pliny*, l. 34. c. 6.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ships belonged to Ptolemy ; but when the captains, and principal officers, were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence ; every place was filled with tumult and confusion, the Athenians being reduced to a sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being discovered, and had already made a descent ; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might easily be distinguished on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a signal to the people to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himself at his side : “ That his father Antigonus had sent him, “ under happy auspices, to re-instate the Athenians “ in the possession of their liberty, to drive the gar- “ rison out of their citadel, and to re-establish their “ laws, and ancient plan of government.”

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their Preserver and Benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that as the son of Antigonus was already master of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promised : Upon which they immediately dispatched ambassadors to him with a tender of their submissions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience ; and in order to convince them of his good disposition toward them, he gave them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as an hostage, at their dismissal. He was likewise careful to provide

provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in consequence of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the utmost respect for his person, and he sent him with a sufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to see their city, and that as desirous as he was to visit it, he would not so much as enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection, by driving out the garrison that incroached upon their liberties. At the same time he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised good intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city ; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a strong garrison.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Cratefipolis the wife of Alexander, and daughter of Polysperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then resided at Patræ, and was extremely desirous to see him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having selected a small number of persons, most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patræ, and when he had arrived within a small distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his people, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Cratefipolis might not be seen when she came to him. A party of the enemies happening to be apprized of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight ; so that he was on the very point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy seized his tent with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the soldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants ; but the Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and re-instated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon *, a celebrated Philosopher, lived in that city, and was visited by Demetrius, who asked him if he had not lost any thing ? *Nothing at all*, replied Stilpon, *for I carry all my effects about me* ; meaning by that expression, his justice, probity, temperance and wisdom ; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of blessings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against such a man as this, who neither desires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philosophy, not to consider death it self as a calamity ?

Though the city was saved from pillage, yet all the slaves in general were taken, and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, carried Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him, in an entire state of freedom. *What you say, my Lord, is certainly true*, replied the philosopher, *for you have not left so much as one slave in it*.

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the siege with so much vigour, that he soon drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refresh himself in the city ; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then assembled the people, to whom he restored their ancient form of

* Megara Demetrius cepit, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus, num quid perdidisset : Nihil, inquit ; omnia namque mea mecum sunt — Habebat enim secum vera bona, in quæ non est manus injectio — Hæc sunt, justitia, virtus, temperantia, pru-

dentia ; & hoc ipsum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi possit — Cogita nunc, an huic quisquam facere injuriam possit, cui bellum, & hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus, eripere nihil potuit. *Senec. de Const. sap. c. 5. & Ep. 9.*

government, promising, at the same time, that his father should send them a hundred and fifty thousand measures of corn, and all necessary materials for building an hundred gallies, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy about fourteen years after its abolition.

Their gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of King on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither these, nor any of the other princes, had ever had the presumption to take till then, though they had assumed to themselves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewise honoured them with the appellation of *Tutelar Deities*; and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called *Panathenæa*, and by an excess of adulation, scarce credible, they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot*; and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they stiled, *the tribe of Demetrius*, and *the tribe of Antigonus*. They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of Ambassadors, should be called *Theoroi*, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods of Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democles, who proposed, “ that in order to the more effectual
“ conse-

“ consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedi-
 “ cated in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper
 “ persons should be dispatched to Demetrius, the tu-
 “ telar deity ; and that after they had offered sacri-
 “ fices to him, they should enquire of this tutelar dei-
 “ ty, in what manner they ought to conduct them-
 “ selves, so as to celebrate with the greatest prompti-
 “ tude, and the utmost devotion and magnificence,
 “ the dedication of those offerings, and that the peo-
 “ ple would comply with all the directions of the
 “ oracle, on that occasion.”

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians discovered, in respect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no less criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgment they had rendered to their new master. They had always considered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel, for the space of ten years, without making the least application to Cassander for their removal. In which he, however, had only pursued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly considered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. (c) They might possibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to suffer death, for contumacy ; and as they were incapable of executing their resentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus ; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, *at least*, said he, *it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue in me by which those statues were deserved.*

What estimation is to be made of those honours, which, at one time, are bestowed with so much pro-

(c) Diog. Laert.

fusion,

fusion, and as suddenly revoked at another ; honours that have been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those favours, upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them ! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy, when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to lose them !

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities : Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, as infamous as such expedients were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been universally known and experienced. The statues, while they subsisted, were so many public testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues ; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just ; and they imagined that a solemn and authentic condemnation would supply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends ; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to insults. Menander, that celebrated Poet from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being prosecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There is some reason to believe, that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for
refuge

refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reason, after the death of Cassander, to be apprehensive of all things from the brutality of his son Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolomy Soter, who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberalities, and regard to men of letters, and whose court was then the asylum of all persons in distress.

(*d*) His reception at that court was as favourable as possible, and the king, according to Ælian, gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state. He held the first rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends, of whom Demetrius himself declared, that they never came to him in his prosperity, till he first had sent for them, but that they always visited him in his adversity, without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile, he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of sustenance to his mind*, and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity, with which it was so largely replenished. How grateful a consolation and resource is this, either in solitude, or a state of exile, to a man solicitous of improving his hours of leisure to the advantage of himself, and the publick!

The reader, when he considers the surprising number of statues erected in honour to one man, will undoubtedly bestow some reflections on the strange difference he discovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now describing. A very judicious

(*d*) Ælian. l. 3. c. 17. Plut. de exil. p. 601.

* Multa præclara in illo calamitoso exilio scripsit, non ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbatus;

sed animi cultus ille erat ei quasi quidam humanitatis cibus. Cic. de Finib. bon. & mal. l. 5. n. 54.

author,

author (e) has a fine remark on this occasion. All the recompence, says he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preserving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle ; but the same people being afterward softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of servile adulation ; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a considerable degree, in not opposing them to the utmost of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. (f) The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined several marks of distinction which the people were desirous of granting him ; and when he was asked, one day, why no statues had been erected to him, when Rome was crouded with those of so many others, *I had much rather, said he, people should enquire why I have none, than why I have any.*

True honour and distinction, says Plutarch, in the place I last cited, consisted in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age ; whereas a profusion of honours through flattery, or the apprehensions entertained of bad princes, and tyrants, are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored like an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortification to behold the Athenians shutting their gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

(g) Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, espoused Eurydice the widow of Ophellias. He had

(e) Corn. Nep. in Miltiad. c. 6. (f) Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 82c.

(g) Plut. in Demetr. p. 894.

already had several wives, and, among the rest, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry against his inclinations, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. *Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, even against his inclination* *. As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary soever it be to the sentiments of nature. Demetrius was severely censured at Athens, for infamous excesses.

(b) In a short time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him with a strong fleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy ; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius being sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had lost a thousand of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and three thousand more who were taken prisoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elate with this success, would undertake the siege of Salamina, made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence ; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he sent three couriers post

(b) Diod. l. 20. p. 783—789. Plut. in Demetr. p. 895, 896. Justin. l. 15. c. 2.

* Ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον. *It was δελευτέον, a man must serve.*

to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the siege with which he was threatened : they were also to solicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and, if possible, to lead them in person.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the situation of the place, as also of its forces, and those of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction ; and therefore sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance ; and he then built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I shall give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines ; and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the wall, by which means the besieged were rendered incapable of sustaining the assault much longer, unless they could resolve on some bold attempt, to prevent the attack, which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had suspended the hostilities on both sides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering-rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately seized them with so much violence, that they were all in flames in a very short time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire ; but this cost them a considerable time to effect, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not discouraged at this disaster.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced as soon as possible to his assistance. The battle, for which both parties prepared, after some ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the spot, but in all the absent princes and commanders. The success appeared to be uncertain ; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, had ordered Menelaus, who were then at Salamina, to come up with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into disorder, amidst the first heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose those sixty of Menelaus ; for this small number was sufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius drew out his land-forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might be in a condition, in case any misfortune happened, to assist those who would be obliged to save themselves by swimming ; after which he sailed into the open sea, with an hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourse to flight with eight galleys, which were all that escaped ; for of the other vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in the battle, and all the others, to the number of seventy, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains therefore of Ptolemy's train, and baggage, with his domestics, friends, and wives, provisions,

sons, arms, money, and machines of war on board the store-ships that lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition, after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ships and land-forces, which last consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generously restored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother, and the other the son of Ptolemy, who were found among the prisoners : He also dismissed them, with their friends and domestics, and all their baggage, without any ransom ; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. * With so much more generosity, disinterest and politeness did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewise selected out of the spoils, twelve hundred compleat suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians ; the rest of the prisoners, whose number amounted to seventeen thousand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops ; by which means he greatly reinforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himself and his son was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a compleat victory, his joy rose in proportion ; and all the people, at the same instant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus imme-

* Tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitiae coluntur. *Justin.*

diately transmitted to his son the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were also no less industrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not seem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lyfimachus and Seleucus soon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the East; and assumed the title of king, in their several dominions, after they had for so many years usurped the supreme authority there, without presuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Cassander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their discourse and letters to him, continued to write his, in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train, and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pomp and loftiness, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

(i) Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had sent against him, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

(k) Antigonus, on his side, to improve the victory

(i) A. M. 5699. Ant. J. C. 305. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Justin. l. 15. c. 4.

(k) Diod. l. 20. p. 304—806. Plut. in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of an hundred thousand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself that conquest would infallibly attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shores to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous : but the impatience of Antigonus to surprize Ptolemy, before his preparations were compleated, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land, into the heart of the country ; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms ; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to cross the deserts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march, such judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues ; but, what was still more afflictive to Antigonus than all the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had sent out boats on several parts of the river where the enemies resorted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every deserter from their troops should receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So

con-

considerable a recompence soon allured great numbers to receive it, especially the troops in the pay of Antigonus ; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose, and severe ; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, became sensible of his inability to enter Egypt ; that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion, and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country ; was obliged to return into Syria, in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition, a great number of his land-forces, and abundance of his ships.

Ptolemy, having offered a sacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, sent to acquaint Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epochæ on the seventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. *Demetrius forms the siege of Rhodes, which he raises a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Colossus of Rhodes. Protogenes, a celebrated Painter, spared during the siege.*

(1) ANTIGONUS was almost fourscore years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and consequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made use of his son's services, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the success which attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance ; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part ; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleasure, or applied to serious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other ; and for the time he engaged in either, was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius ; and it may be justly said, that curiosity, and a fine turn of mind for the sciences, were inseparable from him. He never employed his natural industry in frivolous and insignificant amusements, like many other kings, some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their expertness in playing on instruments ; others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had something great and truly royal in it ; his galleys, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them sailing along their coasts ;

(1) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Diod. p. 809—815, & 817—825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897, & 898.

and his engines, called *Helepoles*, were a surprizing spectacle to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now speaking of.

Among the islands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the safety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were resorted to by great numbers of trading ships from all parts. It then formed a small, but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes, and who was studious on its own part, to oblige them, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arose in those times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital interest to preserve as free as possible, with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to their prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing ; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as interest, secretly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they intreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their antient friend and ally ; but this answer, as prudent and well-concerted as it really was, drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the severest menaces ; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he sent his son Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chastise their insolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewise to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm,
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had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then exposed.

The preparations on each side were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ships of war of different dimensions ; and more than a hundred and seventy transports, that carried about forty thousand men, without including the cavalry, and the succours he received from pirates. He had likewise near a thousand small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the capture of so rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of soldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the most fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was sensible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs ; and that the besieged had above a hundred military machines almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for assaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple palisade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of serving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citi-

zens, as to manifest their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, against one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless ; and the number of those who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to six thousand citizens, and a thousand strangers. Liberty, and the right of denisons, were promised to such slaves as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay the masters the full price for each of them. It was likewise publicly declared, that the citizens would bestow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage ; and that when the sons should be of age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a compleat suit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great solemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the siege, and the soldiers pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making arms, that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of work. Some were employed in making Catapultas and Balistas ; others formed different machines equally necessary : a third class repaired the breaches of the walls ; while several others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city ; each striving with emulation to distinguish himself on that occasion ; so that a zeal so ardent and universal was never known before.

The besieged first set out three good sailors against a small fleet of sutlers and merchants, who supplied the enemy with provisions : They sunk a great number of their vessels, burnt several, and carried into
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the city such of the prisoners who were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition ; for it was mutually agreed, that a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds) should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and half the sum for a slave.

The siege of Rhodes has been represented as the master-piece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two Tortoises to be erected on two flat prahms or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from those enormous masses which the besieged discharged from the towers and walls, with the Catapultas planted upon them ; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four stories were erected at the same time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended to be used in battering the latter with volleys of stones and darts. Each of these towers were placed upon two ships strongly bound together.

Demetrius, beside these tortoises and towers, caused a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which stakes armed at the end with large points of iron were driven. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port from shattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his fleet the largest vessels, on the side of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, easy to be opened. He

there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and furnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistas or cross-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for shooting ; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians, seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it ; in order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a prodigious quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were also given, with respect to the ships of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose, as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day ; but the sea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, where he posted four hundred soldiers, who fortified themselves immediately with good palisades.

The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army ; and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port : but they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians ; and the loss being almost equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

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The besieged, who had been instructed at their own expence, in what manner the night was capable of being improved, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port, during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected ; but as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians lost some of their fire-ships in this expedition, but the mariners saved themselves by swimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port, and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army, thinking by those means to spread terror among the besieged : But they were so far from being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and discovered the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued ; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had seized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of several engines, which discharged great stones of an hundred and fifty pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and several breaches were soon made in the walls. The besiegers then made a furious advance to seize the moles which defended the entrance into the port ; but as this post was of the last importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a considerable progress. This they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies with so much rapidity, and for such a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they rather appeared more animated

than ever against the Rhodians. They began the scalade, by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besiegers so effectually, that they scarce knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besiegers defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised ; several, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken prisoners by the enemy ; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead ; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed seven days in re-fitting his ships, and repairing his engines, set sail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention most, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming-straw, and arrows to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermission. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigour and activity, that they soon extinguished the flames, which had seized the vessels of the port.

At the same time they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exacestes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and use all possible means to
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join the vessels, that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with a surprizing expedition and address ; and the three gallies, after they had shattered and broke through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with so much violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to flow into them through several openings : Two of them were already sunk, but the third was towed along by the galleys, and joined the main fleet ; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that situation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it : But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exacestes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were ; the other two regained the port after sustaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by swimming.

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himself ; and in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When this was compleated, he caused it to be placed near the port which he was resolved to force ; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempest arose at sea, and sunk it to the bottom, with the vessels on which it had been raised.

The besieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the first assault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and

were repulsed several times ; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners to the number of four hundred men.

This series of fortunate events was succeeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnossus, a city of Crete, to the assistance of the Rhodians, and also of five hundred more whom Ptolemy sent from Egypt, most of them being Rhodians who had listed themselves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius being extremely mortified to see all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by assault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. He therefore prepared materials of every kind, and formed them into a machine called * *Helepolis*, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The basis on which it stood was square, and each of its sides had an extent of seventy-five feet. The machine itself was an assemblage of large square beams, riveted together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the superstructure. The jaunts of these wheels were three feet thick, and strengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *Helepolis*, care had been taken to place casters † under it, whose volubility rendered the machine moveable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of

* See this Machine further described with the Plate of it, Vol. XI.

† Mons. Rollin informs us in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (*Antistrepta*) for want of a proper French word to render it by ; but as the English language is not so defective in that particular, the translator has ex-

pressed the Greek by the word, *Caster*, which, as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in such a manner as to render it convertible on all sides, like those little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any part of a room.

wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpose, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever should be discharged by the enemy against it.

Each story had two large stair-cases, one for the ascent of the men, and the other for their descent.

This machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built, greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, which was an hundred fathoms. The number of artificers and others, employed on these works, amounted to near thirty thousand men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the Helepolis; and in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more

magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship, after the siege should be raised.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they sent to Philip sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed, even with enemies.

While the ships of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with respect to the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a public assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harraressed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but should their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour. De-

Demetrius having tried several mines without success, from their being all discovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault: in order to which the Helepolis was moved to a situation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapultas and balistas proportioned in their size to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified on two of its sides, by four small machines called tortoises, each of which had a covered galley, to secure those who should either enter the Helepolis, or issue out of it, to execute different orders. On each side was a battering-ram of a prodigious size, consisting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with impregnable force by near a thousand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to sound, and the general assault to be given on all sides, both by sea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earnestly solicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes at the same time, that they should prevail upon the besieged to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly granted, but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions proposed to them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and all the machines co-operated so effectually, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulsed their enemies.

In this conjuncture the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn,

corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemies ships which cruised in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small fleets sailed into the port ; one was sent by Cassander, with one hundred thousand bushels of barley ; the other came from Lyfimachus, with four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and as much barley. This seasonable and abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besiegers with new courage, and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies machines, and with this view, ordered a body of soldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries and set them on fire, and at the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the wall, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The besiegers lost great numbers of their men on this occasion, because they were incapable, amidst the obscurity of the night, either to see, or avoid the volleys of arrows discharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the Helepolis, during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuosity, in order to set it on fire : but as the troops within that moving tower, quenched it with water, as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their design. However, Demetrius was apprehensive that all his machines would be consumed ; to prevent which he caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius being curious to know what number of machines the besieged had employed in casting arrows, caused all those which had been shot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up ;
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and when these were counted and a proper computation made, he became sensible that the inhabitants must have more than eight hundred engines of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded, and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismounted and rendered useless.

The besieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against the new assault, for which the enemies were then preparing. To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city ; after which they raised a substantial wall in the form of a crescent along the ditch ; and which would cost the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron of the nimblest ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provision and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels freighted with corn, and other necessaries sent them by Ptolemy, with fifteen hundred men command by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius having reinstated his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp, from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The king, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus, and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight,

night, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemies with false attacks, he at the same time caused the signal to be sounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into confusion, they seized the posts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there, dispatched orders to their officers and soldiers, not to quit their posts, nor make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre : but the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared than a universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours.

cours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women and children who continued in the city, and then concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their posts with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that very instant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp, to solicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

(*m*) If what Vegetius relates of the Helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius seems to confirm it, with a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his Helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless ; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. The besiegers not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined, which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the ma-

(*m*) Veget. de re milit. c. 4.

chine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious ; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege, and it is, at least, very probable, that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose so favourable an occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after upon the following terms. The republic of Rhodes and all its citizens should retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty, without being subjected to any power whatsoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not against Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver an hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having besieged it a year.

(n) Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was desirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition ; and accordingly presented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that siege. These they afterwards sold for three hundred talents (about three hundred thousand crowns) which they employed, with an addi-

(a) Plin. l. 34. c. 7.

tional sum of their own, in making the famous Colossus, which was reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the Sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships in full sail passed between its legs ; the height of it was seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could clasp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-six years after its erection, it was thrown down by an earthquake ; of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity ; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the square which encompassed it, and contained a space of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon ; and out of a flattery, as customary in those days, as impious in itself, divine honours were rendered to him in that place : And, in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies a Saviour, and is used by the historians to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the series of events that occurred at this siege, and therefore reserved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them, a circumstance not a little for the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus a city of Caria, which was then subject to
the

the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted, was in the suburbs without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it ; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or discontinue his work. The king was surprized at his conduct, and as he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding ; *It is, replied he, because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the sciences.* Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually shewed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that the artist might enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to see him work, and never sufficiently admired the application of that master to his art, and his surprizing excellency in it.

The master-piece of this painter was the *Falysus*, an historical picture of a person of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder, though only a * fabulous hero. Protogenes had employed seven years in finishing this piece, and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed him for some time ; and when he at last began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, *Prodigious work indeed ! Admirable performance ! It has not however the graces I give my works, and which have raised their reputation to the skies.* If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himself to this work, condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life †, that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and consecrated in the temple of Peace, where

* He was the son of Orchimus, whose parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and island derived their name.

† He subsisted himself on boiled Lupines, a kind of pulse which satisfied his hunger and thirst at the same time.

it remained to the time of Pliny ; but it was at last destroyed by fire.

The same Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was saved by this picture ; because as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest *, than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames. This indeed, would have been carrying his taste and value for painting into a surprizing extreme ; but we have already seen the true reasons which obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog † that was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter great application, without his being able to express his idea to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently pleased with all the rest of the work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting and with his mouth foaming as after a long chace ; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on that occasion, without being able to content himself. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been ; a mere resemblance would not suffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would satisfy him. He was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till

* Parcentem picturæ fugit occasio victoriæ.

† Est in ea canis mirè factus, ut quem pariter casus & ars pinxerint. Non judicabat se exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfecisset. Displicebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, & videbatur nimia, ac longius à veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex

ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile, vellet. Absterferat sæpius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi approbans. Postremò iratus arti quòd intelligeretur, spongiam eam impegit in viso loco tabulæ, & illa reposuit ablatos colores, qualiter cura optabat : fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. *Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.*

at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the very sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that though Apelles * almost regarded him as his master, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works ; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. *We ought, says Cicero †, to know how far we should go ; and Apelles justly censured some painters for not knowing when to have done.*

S E C T. IX. *The expedition of Seleucus into India. Demetrius compels Cassander to raise the siege of Athens. The excessive honours paid him in that city. A league between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius. The battle of Ipsus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is slain, and Demetrius put to flight.*

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's successors, the more easily may we discover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will still appear to be influenced. They at first concealed their real dispositions, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to disguise their own ambitious views. But as soon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered themselves in their proper

* Et aliam gloriam usurpavit Apelles, cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxie miraretur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse, aut illi meliora, sed uno se præstare, quod manum ille de tabula nesciret tollere : memorabili præcepto, no-

cere sæpe nimiam diligentiam. *Plin. ibid.*

† In omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus——In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satis. *Orat. n. 73.*

colours, and such as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally solicitous to support themselves in their several governments ; to become entirely independent ; to assume an absolute sovereignty, and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expence of those other governors, who were weaker or less successful than themselves : To this effect they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate, when they could derive more advantages from others, and they renewed them with the same facility from the same motives. They considered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance destitute of a master, and which prudence obliged them to secure for themselves, in as large portion as possible, without any apprehensions of being reproached as usurpers, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular person. This was the great motive of all the enterprizes in which they engaged.

(o) Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between Euphrates and Indus, and was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of those rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union in point of interest with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the siege of Rhodes, and in awing the republics of Greece ; in a word, while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself : Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear ; for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue by a sudden irruption, altogether unexpected

(o) A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 308.

by king Sandroctta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the specious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the successors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces, but when he found that Sandroctta had rendered himself absolute master of all India, and had likewise an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince ; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandroctta would furnish him with five hundred elephants ; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests ! This the fruit of so much blood shed to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince ! Seleucus shortly after led his troops into the west against Antigonus, as I shall soon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian prince.

(p) The Athenians, at the same time, called in Demetrius to assist them against Cassander, who besieged their city. He accordingly set sail with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great body of foot ; and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but pursued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily : He also admitted into his service six thousand Macedonians, who came over to his side.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had already lavished upon him

(p) Diod. l. 20. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

all the honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that out-did the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon ; but even this place, which had so much sanctity ascribed to it by the people, and was the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous and crying debaucheries. His courtisans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and were the only divinities he adored. (q) He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for slavery ; so much was even this prince shocked at such despicable adulation, as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius ! *

Democles, surnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, chusing rather to die than violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appease the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published with relation to him, issued a new one, importing, *that it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, should be considered as sacred in regard to the gods, and just with regard to men.* Is it possible to believe, that flattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion !

Demetrius after these proceedings retired into Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and several others where he had garrisons : And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand

(q) Athen. l. 6. p. 253.

* *Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum : O homines ad servitutem paratos ! Scilicet etiam*

illum, qui libertatem publicam nolle, tam projectæ servientium patientiæ tædebat, Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 65.

festival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnize it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus.

(r) The states of Greece being assembled in the Isthmus, and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself abundantly superior, so much was he intoxicated with the success of his arms, and the flattery lavished upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before; for it was necessary to observe certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March*, and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered that the then present month of May should be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonies prescribed by the law.

But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order issued by Demetrius, for immediately furnishing the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the least delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and

(r) Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

* There are various opinions with relation to the months in which these mysteries were celebrated.

the other courtesans in her company for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and resented the application of that sum to a greater degree than their contribution to it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantery of a comic poet, who said, that Lamia was a true *Helepolis*. We have already shewn, that the *Helepolis* was a machine invented by Demetrius, for attacking towns.

(s) Cassander finding himself vigorously pressed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace, without submitting entirely to the discretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lyfimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made evident, that he had no less in view than to dispossess all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other, to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise offended, and Lyfimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their conversation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ship, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lyfimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, after which they hastened into Assyria, to make preparations for this new war.

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lyfimachus having judged

(s) A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. Diod. l. 20. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. Justin. l. 15. c. 4.

it expedient, that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius ; and that the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Asia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too destitute of forces. Lyfimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement ; passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and either by treaty or force reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the territories between the Propontis, and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonias, which he had lately built in upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the solemn games he had there established. This news, with that of several other revolts, transmitted to him at the same time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly dismissed the assembly upon the spot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the public treasury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought necessary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook several places in his march. Lyfimachus thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arrival of the succours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

(1) Seleucus, at the beginning of the next season, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook

(1) A. M. 3703. Ant. J. C. 301.

that city, with several others that had declared for Lyfimachus upon his arrival in Asia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœlosyria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon ; but whilst his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lyfimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

(u) The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lyfimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above sixty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemies forces consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city of Phrygia.

As soon as the signal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight : But a rash and inconsiderate thirst of glory, which generals can never suspect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any consideration for the rest of the army, by which means he lost the victory, he might easily have secured, had he

(u) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902.

improved his first advantage aright. For when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he only made several feint attacks upon them, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at last the expedient on which they resolved. The greatest part of the infantry detached themselves from the rest, and surrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the same instant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who sustained their efforts for some time, but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Ephesus, with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which were all that remained of more than sixty thousand men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. (x) The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

A R T I C L E II.

THIS second article includes the space of fifty-five years; namely, the last fifteen years of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had already reigned twenty-three, which with the other fifteen make thirty-eight; and forty-eight years more, being the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

(x) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

SECT. I. *The four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great into as many kingdoms. Seleucus builds several cities. Athens shuts her gates against Demetrius. He reconciles himself with Seleucus, and afterwards with Ptolemy. The death of Cassander. The first actions of Pyrrhus. Athens taken by Demetrius. He loses all he possessed almost at the same time.*

(y) **A**FTER the battle of Ipsus, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander, was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine: Cassander had Macedonia, and Greece: Lysimachus Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus: And Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterward built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence in which he was followed by his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom however not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king, till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twelve years, during which he exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned him by Usher.

These four kings * are the four horns of the he-goat
I 3 in

(y) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. L. 15. p. 572.

* And as I was considering, West on the face of the whole
behold an he-goat came from the earth, and touched not the ground;
and

in the prophecy of Daniel, who succeeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designed by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the same prophecy*.

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the regal partition. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, *four stood up for it*. But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before the last division of the empire. And even this dignity was at first precarious,

and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns; which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his band. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and from it came up four notable horns, toward the four winds of

heaven. Dan. chap. viii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen: The ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

* *After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had, upon the back of it, four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. Dan. vii. 6.*

as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power. These four kings are Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be observed, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretels. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and a chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors ! How expressly has he pointed out their nation, that was to be the Grecian ; described the countries they were to possess ; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander ; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success ! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which at the time of their being denounced, were so remote from probability ; and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world ? But it is now time for us to resume the thread of our history.

(z) Onias, the first of that name, and high-priest

(z) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 2.

of the Jews, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who, for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was surnamed *the Just*. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

(a) Seleucus, after the defeat of Antigonus, made himself master of upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name either from his father, or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was the capital of the East for a long time, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonía; but Seleucus had entirely demolished it, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.

(b) Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the rest: The first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second, Apamea, from his consort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the southern part of the same quarter. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the battle of Ipsus, and, from thence, embarked for Greece, his whole resource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was strangely

(a) A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. Strab. l. 16. p. 749, 750. Ap-
pian. in Syr. p. 124. Justin. l. 15, c. 4. (b) Strab. l. 16. p. 750.

surprized and offended, when he was met in his way, by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings: they also informed him, that his consort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The posture of his affairs, not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among which was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them, he sailed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lyfimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themselves formidable anew.

Lyfimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters named Arsinoe; shortly after which, his son Agathocles married another.

(c) This double alliance between Lyfimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratonice the daughter of that prince by Phila the sister of Cassander. The beauty of that princess had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In consequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece where

(c) A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. Plut. in Demetr. p. 903.

he was still in possession of some places. During his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents *, were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials, and the entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.

During these transactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that ended her days. (d) Demetrius having reconciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy; by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect; for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, beside his new conquests in Cilicia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies

(d) A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 298.

* *Twelve hundred thousand crowns.*

a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shews that these princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to faith of treaty, equity and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed *.

The eyes of Selucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money ; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his restoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon that depended on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time, he sailed to those two cities, where he reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence ; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such an odious aspect with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned : For as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune !

(e) Cassander died, about this time, of a dropy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nine

(e) A. M. 3707. Ant. J. C. 297.

* Chap. I. ver. 9, 10.

years, from the death of his father, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, left his crown to be contested by his two brothers.

(*f*) Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigona, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty, that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the revolters, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person into Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne; and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding him-

(*f*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383—385.

self

self destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest, in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius, even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as an hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting exercises, and all other labours. Observing that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite consort, in preference of several young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

Athens

(g) Athens, as we have already observed, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities who had quitted his party ; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. (h) A fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, sent by king Ptolemy, to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy ; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor, and fled.

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person, even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed ; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he shewed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction : but he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered ; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver him-

(g) A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.

(h) A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

self in any passionate or insulting language, but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour ; presenting them, at the same time, with an hundred thousand measures of corn, and re-instating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected ; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so glorious, so admirable a character !

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him ; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight : After which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious ; five hundred of the enemies were made prisoners, and two hundred killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different manner. The first was, that Lyfimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia ; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired ; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife and children of his enemy their liberty without any ransom ; and to dismiss them with all their attendants, and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The .

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon ; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus in a very short time he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resource or hopes for the future.

S E C T. II. *Dispute between the two sons of Cassander for the crown of Macedonia. Demetrius being invited to the assistance of Alexander, finds means to destroy him, and is proclaimed king of the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conquest of Asia. A powerful confederacy is formed against him. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themselves. Pyrrhus is soon obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of Demetrius, who dies in prison.*

NO prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, or ever experienced more sudden changes than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter he had not the least room to expect it.

(i) In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown, Thessalonica their mother favoured Alexander, who was the youngest ; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived the first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander ;

(i) A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. 16. c. 1.

and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him ; and testified at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship ; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment, whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They however conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts, till at last, Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true, or contrived, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occasioned his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip king of Macedonia became entirely extinct by the death of Thessalonica, and her two sons ; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced by a just decree of providence the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths. Much

(*k*) Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia, on the banks of the Tigris, and at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by six hundred thousand persons. The dikes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so inconvenient, that as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who at a time, when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. (*l*) I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

(*m*) Simon, surnamed the Just, and high priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the function of it for the space of fifteen years.

(*n*) I here pass over some events of small importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations, for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above an hundred thousand men, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen, since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the work-

(*k*) A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. Strab. l. 16. p. 738 & 743. Plin. l. 6. c. 26. (*l*) Vol. II. *At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.*

(*m*) A. M. 3712. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 2. (*n*) A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288. Plut. in Demetr. p. 909, & in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. 16. c. 2.

men by his presence and instructions, visited them in prison, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal astonishment ; for ships of six, and even five benches of oars, had never been seen till then ; and Ptolemy Philopator did not build one of forty benches till many years after this period * ; but then it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their grandeur and magnificence.

(n) Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm ; and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus king of Epirus ; in consequence of which, when Lyfimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus was carrying on the same operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece, for his intended expedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions ; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a disorder in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius perceiving he no longer

(n) A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287.

* This galley was two hundred and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty foot) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried four hundred sailors, beside four thousand rowers, and near three thousand soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck. Plut. in the life of Demetrius.

had

had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp, and superb magnificence, as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary ; and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of approach. He was either so impious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech, or else he treated them with so much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe ; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius *, he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to provoke his subjects to revolt from his authority. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, and which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had several times

* *A river of upper Macedonia,*

refused audience to a poor woman, under pretext that he wanted leisure to hear her. *Be no longer king then*, replied she with some emotion ; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSIBLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE *.

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and accessible ; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers over their liquor had vented several offensive pleasantries against him.. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard ? *Yes, my Lord*, replied one of the company, *and we should have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine*. Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly turn, and dismissed them from his presence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking ; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance

* Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτις τῷ βασιλεὶ προσήκον, ὥς τὸ τῆς δίκης ἔργον.

of his own features to those of Alexander*, but a good matron of Larissa, in whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer perhaps not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him, the aspect of that prince ; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him. But with respect to the art military, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot therefore be thought surprizing, that the Macedonians, who entertained such prejudices in his favour, and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius, to espouse that of Pyrrhus : And one may see by this instance, and a thousand others, how necessary it is for princes to attach their people to their interests by the gentle ties of affection, and gratitude ; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, that is the most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

(o) As Lyfimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince, to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily

(o) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

* A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus, that he resembled Alexander, in the features of his face. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdicas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him,

which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity ; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. Lucian. advers. indoct. p. 552, 553.

acquiesced

acquiesced in the pretensions of Lyfimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them : But this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a constant train of animosities and divisions : For, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes ; and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains so near, and which might prove so commodious to them ? This was a moderation not to be expected ; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin ; to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice. Again, continues the same author, do they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce or transient suspension of their unjust views ?

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise, and more impunity. May heaven grant that those complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present !

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose ; and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of satisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprizes, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies.

allies. Lyſimachus took advantage of the army's diſguſt of Pyrrhus, and enflamed them ſtill more by his emiſſaries, who artfully inſinuated that they had acted moſt ſhamefully in chuſing a ſtranger for their maſter, whom intereſt, and not affection, had attached to Macedonia. Theſe reproaches drew in the greateſt part of the ſoldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the conſequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and loſt Macedonia in the ſame manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inſtancy of this people, and their diſaffection to his perſon; but, as Plutarch again obſerves, kings have no reaſon to blame other perſons, for ſometimes changing their party according to their intereſt, as in acting ſo, they only imitate their own example, and praſtiſe the leſſons of infidelity and treaſon, which they have learnt from their whole conduct, which upon all occaſions demonſtrates an utter diſregard for juſtice, veracity, and faith in the obſervance of engagements.

(p) With reſpect to the affairs of Demetrius; that prince, when he found himſelf deſerted by his troops, retired to the city of Caſſandria*, where his conſort Phila reſided: This lady was ſo afflicted at the calamitous ſtate in which ſhe beheld her huſband, and was ſo terrified at the miſfortunes to which ſhe herſelf was expoſed by the declenſion of his affairs, that ſhe had recourſe to a draught of poiſon, by which ſhe ended a life that was become more inſupportable to her than death itſelf.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up ſome remains of his ſhattered fortune, returned to Greece, where ſeveral cities ſtill continued devoted to him; and when he had diſpoſed his affairs in the beſt order he was able, he left the government of thoſe places to his ſon Antigonus; and aſſembling all the troops he could raiſe in that country, which amounted to about eleven thou-

(p) Plut. in Demetr. p. 910, 911.

* *A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in upper Macedonia.*

land men, he embarked for Asia, with a resolution to try whether despair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

(*q*) Demetrius, soon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lyfimachus, and considerably augmented his forces ; by which means he at last made himself master of Sardis : But, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lyfimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His design in taking this route, was to surprise Armenia, and Media ; but Agathocles, who followed him close, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely ; and when he at last made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarsus in Cilicia.

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and intreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and dispatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself ; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without incurring

(*q*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 912—915.

many disadvantages himself. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity; but if he should not be inclinable to grant him that favour, he intreated his consent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions, and begged that prince not to expose him to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design he had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his diffidence, and he consented to nothing more, than his taking winter-quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of that season; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards, at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs, but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he
found

found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprize Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design, time enough to prevent its effect ; and the desertion of Demetrius's troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet ; but he found the passes so well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods ; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the Chersonesus of Syria near Laodicea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniencies of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmost sorrow, and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as an hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations in favour of the captive princes ; but Lyfimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The king of Syria was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal, and in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to wait the arrival of his son Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity ; and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting, and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of

his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the phrenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, but the fatality of tormenting themselves, by rendering others miserable ; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions ? Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy ; and no longer amused himself with his former exercises : He grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with design to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His son Antigonus, to whom the urn, which inclosed the ashes of that prince, was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see, in the sequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was surnamed Gonatas, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia ; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, the last of that family, who was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECT. III. Ptolemy Soter resigns his kingdom to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men. Demetrius Phalereus presides over both.

(r) **P**TOLEMY Soter, the son of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the stile of king, and of near thirty-nine from the death of

(r) A.M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. Justin. l. 16.

Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus *, one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among those, Ptolemy, surnamed *Ceraunus*, or *the Thunderer*, who being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, so exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her ; and so great was her ascendant over him, that she caused him to prefer her son, to all his issue by the other queens. In order therefore to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue, after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age ; he resolved to have him crowned in his own life time, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him ; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen ; but I reserve the description of it to the end of this action.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lyfimachus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lyfandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother ; and after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodness entirely uncommon, for which he was afterward repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

(s) In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was also the first year of the cxxivth Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of

(s) Plin. l. 36. c. 12. Strab. l. 17. p. 791. Suid. in *Φάρος*.

* The word signifies, a lover of his brethren ; but Ptolemy received this surname, agreeably to a figure of speech called *Antiphrasis*, be-

cause he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed. Pausan. l. 1. p. 12.

Pharos was compleated. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost eight hundred talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thousand pounds, but amount to almost double that sum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned before*. Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre.

(†) Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they consented to resign this idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (u), surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

(†) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 83 & 84. Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31. (u) Am. Marcell. l. 22. c. 16.

* Vol. I. In the history of Egypt.

(x) Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophic studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To this effect, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors. (y) His son Philadelphus left a hundred thousand volumes in it at the time of his death, and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of seven hundred thousand volumes.

(z) This library was formed by the following method. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose: The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents, (equal to fifteen thousand crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Musæum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain four hundred thousand volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a sup-

(x) Arrian. in Præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. 9. c. 8. Strab. l. 17. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095. (y) Euseb. in Chron. (z) Galen.

plement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it three hundred thousand volumes.

(a) In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thousand volumes. Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased *, when speaking of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the elogium made on it by Livy, who styles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wise attention for the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would only have it considered as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. This

addition, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding these magnificent libraries, which become a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra deposited those two hundred thousand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Anthony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first; and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in

(a) Plut. in Cæsar. p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. 22. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. 42. p. 202.

* *Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum regię opulentię monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantię regum curęque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura,*

sed studiosa luxuria: imò, ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant — Paretur itaque librorum quantum sit, nihil in apparatus. Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. 9.

the

the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, affording its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens, when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too singular to be passed over in silence.

(b) John, surnamed the Grammarian, and a famous follower of Aristototele, happened to be at Alexandria, when it was taken: And as he was much esteemed by *Amri-Ebnol-As*, the general of the Saracen troops, he intreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request, but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly writ to Omar the then Khalif, whose answer was, that if those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any farther examination; and to that effect, were distributed into the public bagnios, where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Musæum of Bruchion was not burnt with its library. (c) Strabo acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were go-

(b) Abul-Pharagius, in hist. Dynast. IX. (c) Strab. l. 17. p. 793.

verned by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterward by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society ate together at the expence of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria, was undoubtedly indebted to this Museum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning, but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him that they would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and shewing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

(d) We have formerly seen what inducements

(d) Plut. in Demetr. p. 892. Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Phal.

brought

brought Demetrius to the court of this prince. He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confident. He consulted him preferably to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown. (e) This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown, in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create himself a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations : In consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

(f) Toward the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the able and most worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such an height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne, the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of

(e) A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. (f) A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.

familiarity. He frequently ate with them at their own houses, and when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. (g) And when some persons represented to him, that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, *That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself.*

SECT. IV. *The magnificent solemnity, at the inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned by antiquity. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals, in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers, for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give, should appear unseasonable, or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare before-hand, that the relation will be something tedious.

(b) This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the circus of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a va-

(g) Plut. in Apoph. p. 181. (b) Athen. l. 5. p. 197—203.

riety

riety of separate processions. Beside those of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a distinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their history.

Athenæus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni, came a band of Satyrs, composed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by the Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet high, steaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with certain white fillets.

An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, cloathed in purple vests; each of them supporting a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty Satyrs, wearing crowns of gold which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right-hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six foot in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornu-copia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year. This

This person preceded a very amiable woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Pen-teteris*.

The next in the procession were the genii of the four seasons, wearing ornaments by which they were distinguished, and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of Satyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after these were seen Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the Athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths: the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed these. It had four wheels†, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by 180 men. In this chariot was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of a saffron-colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Laconic manner, and contain-

* This word signifies the space of five years, because at the expiration of every fourth year, the feast of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

† All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

ing fifteen measures, called Metretes * : This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal full of cinamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated in a shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees ; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same chariot were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers, and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vases †.

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevel'd, and wore crowns composed some of serpents, others of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another chariot, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa or Nysa sitting ||, twelve feet high, and cloathed with a yellow vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines that were not touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left-hand held a thyrsus adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were represented various leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-press

* This word is frequently used in the present description ; it is the name of a Greek measure, which corresponds most with the Roman Amphora, but was somewhat

larger. It contained nine gallons.

† Mystica Vannus Iacchi. Virg.

|| She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

also thirty-six feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad ; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty Satyrs trod the grapes, to the found of the flute, and fung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole progress.

Another chariot, of the same magnitude, was drawn by six hundred men. This carried a vat of a prodigious size, made of leopards skins sewed together. The vessel contained three thousand measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine, during the procession.

This chariot was followed by an hundred and twenty crowned Satyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flaggons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver vat, containing six hundred Metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great vats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty Metretes and the least five : There were likewise ten cauldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, and disposed on five salvers ; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets : a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length ; and thirty more, of six : four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet ; the other three, that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then.

Then came twenty Delphic tripods, all of silver, and something less than the preceding. They were likewise accomplished with twenty-six beakers, sixteen flaggons, and an hundred and sixty other vessels, the largest of which contained six Metretes, and the smallest, two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the golden vessels ; four of which, called Laconics, were crowned with vine leaves : There were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals ; these contained eight Metretes : a wine-press, on which ten goblets were placed : two other vases, each of which contained five Metretes ; and two more that held a couple of measures : twenty-two vessels, for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty Metretes, and the least, one : four golden tripods of an extraordinary size : a kind of golden basket intended as a repository for vessels of the same metal ; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length ; it was likewise divided into six partitions. one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height : two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments : two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions : ten beakers : an altar four feet and a half high ; and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched sixteen hundred youths habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and four hundred of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels, made to keep liquors cool.

After these appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, some of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length,

length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a chariot thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine leaves: several pigeons, ring-doves and turtles issued out of the aperture, and flew about. Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains likewise, one of milk, and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and cloathed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was represented by a statue, eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine-leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine-branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple vests and golden zones. An hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came an hundred and twenty satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and crown-
ed

éd satyrs, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train 'of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants ; sixty by he-goats ; twelve by lions ; six by *Oryges*, a species of goats ; fifteen by buffalos ; four by wild asses ; eight by ostriches ; and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, cloathed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine ; and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In these chariots were several tents, resembling those of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of these camels carried three hundred pound weight of incense ; others two hundred of saffron, cinamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried six hundred elephants teeth ; another, two thousand branches of ebony ; a third, cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold-dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thousand four hundred dogs, of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, beside a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by 150 men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey-hens, pheasants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After these appeared a hundred and thirty sheep of that country ; three hundred of the Arabian breed ; twenty of the island of Eubœa ; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian species ; also a large white bear ; fourteen leopards ; sixteen

sixteen panthers ; four lynxes ; three small bears ; a camelopard *, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown embellished with ivy-leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem ; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy-leaves. The image of virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these, was a great vase filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five Metretes.

This chariot was followed by several women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia ; with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thyrsus, a hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and a silver lance eighty feet long.

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size ; and also a great number of chariots, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these, came a chorus of six hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band, marched two thousand bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same

* *This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace.*
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo.

metal. They were also adorned with a collar, and an Ægis * hung on the breast of each. All these habiliments were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities; advanced next, and, after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed ten thousand pieces of gold †, each containing four drachmas.

In this procession were likewise three hundred golden vases, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and sixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and a half high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, having six feet in their altitude; and there were six others, nine feet in height. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; several animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, sixty-six feet long; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length sixty feet; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumfe-

* A kind of buckler which covered the breast.

† The Attic Stater, usually called χρυσός, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore

of this single crown amounted to a hundred thousand French livres, which are about five thousand pounds sterling.

rence ; a double horn, twelve feet long ; a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendious size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession ; together with a consecrated crown, containing a hundred and twenty feet, undoubtedly in its circumference ; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of twenty-four.

These ornaments of the procession were accompanied with a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height ; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high. On this latter was the representation of two thunder-bolts of gold, eighteen feet in length ; with an oaken crown embellished with jewels ; twenty golden bucklers ; sixty-four compleat suits of golden armour ; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length ; twelve basons ; a great number of flagons ; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths ; twelve beakers ; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables : all these were of gold. There were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets ; and a horn of solid gold, forty-four feet in length. All these golden vessels and other ornaments, were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise four hundred chariots loaded with vessels, and other works of silver ; twenty others filled with golden vessels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of fifty-seven thousand and six hundred foot, and twenty-three thousand horse, all drest and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and public combats, which continued

tinued for some days, after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at two thousand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minæ, about three hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred pounds sterling : From whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence, (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and of the comic strain ?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus, at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman whom I have formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himself so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am persuaded that the sight of it in all its parts, would have proved insupportable to him ; and am inclined to think he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem ; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age *.

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and silver was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Cataline intended to represent

* Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupidè appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate & tædio pompæ, non reticuerit meri-

tò se plecti, qui triumphum — tam ineptè senex concupisset. *Sueton. in Vespas. c. 12.*

the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. “ They draw out, says he, and torment their gold “ and silver, by all imaginable methods,” (I must intreat the reader’s excuse for this literal translation) “ and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of “ exhausting and overcoming their riches.” *Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant * : tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt.* In such profusions as these, did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and a waste of such immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions ? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to public view, only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducing to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, such as are only proper to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners ; by presenting to their view all the utensils of excess and debauch, with the most power-

* These metaphorical terms, trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt, may possibly be derived from the combats of the Athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the Arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him,

without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming her riches.

ful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, that would exact, or so much as suffer so scandalous a pomp in their worship!

SECT. V. *The commencement of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The death of Demetrius Phalereus. Seleucus resigns his queen and part of his empire to his son Antiochus. The war between Seleucus and Lysimachus; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of Arsinoë are murdered by their brother Ceraunus, who also banishes that princess. Ceraunus is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of Delphos. Antigonus establishes himself in Macedonia.*

(i) **P**TOLEMY Philadelphus, after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependant on it, that is to say, Phœnicia, Coelosyria, Arabia, Lybya, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But when the sovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. (k) But at last the bite of an aspic put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.

The testimonies in his favour of Cicero, Strabo,

(i) A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. (k) Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government ; we therefore shall only consider what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places *, were sweetness, elegance, beauty, numbers and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His stile, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and enobled with bold and shining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his discourse, otherwise not dignified to any great degree with rich sentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and the sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for public games and spectacles, than as a soldier enured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with something grateful and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merit, when limited to just bounds ; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to suppress the sallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the

* Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest : disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. *Offic.* l. 1. n. 3.

Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutus, quàm palæstra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quàm inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem & pulverem, non ut è militari taberna-

culo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis — Suavis videri maluit, quàm gravis ; sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret : & tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus. *De clar. Orat.* n. 37 & 38.

judg-

judgment ; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiate and deprave the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time *, had been accustomed to a noble and majestic eloquence, whose character was a natural beauty without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that revolted against this manly and solid eloquence, to which he substituted a soft and languishing species, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered false taste predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains survived Ptolemy, Lyfimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by interest and friendship, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations : And as they were now advancing to the period of their days, (for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age) one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them ; instead of which, their mutual destruction by war, became the whole object of their thoughts, on the following occasion.

Lyfimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lyfandra one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. (1) The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lyfimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting ! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the dif-

(1) Justin. l. 17. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.

* Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam ; & ut opinio mea fert, succus ille & sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non

fucatus, nitor——Hic (Phalereus) primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit. *De clar. Orat.* n. 36—38.

ferences of their mothers. Lyfandra was the daughter of Euridice, and Berenice of Arsinoe. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lyfandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children, at the death of Lyfimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lyfandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lyfimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lyfimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lyfandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed, by views of interest.

(*m*) Before he engaged in this enterprize, he resigned his queen Stratonice, to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate; and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself, no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, of which the Physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the

(*m*) A. M. 3722. Ant. J. C. 282. Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126—128.

inquietude of a father who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age ; whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from a passion he had entertained for some lady ; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to discover the object of a passion, the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her consort ; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as so many indications of a violent passion. Such for instance, as a suppression of voice ; burning blushes ; suffusion of sight ; cold sweat ; a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse ; with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterward alone with his patient, he managed his enquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it : he added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts, in such a conjuncture ; particularly the respect due from him to a father and sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved ; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour ; the folly of harbouring a design he ought never to be

desirous of gratifying ; but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in ever other, he had resolved to languish to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder ; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished ; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent and king ! When Seleucus made the next enquiry after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprized and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained ? Because she is my wife, replied the physician, and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another. And will you not part with her then, replied the king, to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love ! Is this the friendship you profess for me ! Let me intreat you, my lord, said Erasistratus, to imagine yourself for one moment in my place, would you resign your Stratonice to his arms ? If you, therefore, who are a father, would not consent to such a sacrifice for the welfare of a son so dear to you, how can you expect another should do it ? I would resign Stratonice, and my empire to him, with all my soul, interrupted the king. Your majesty then, replied the physician, has the remedy in your own hands ; for he loves Stratonice. The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort : after which his son and that princess were crowned king and queen of upper Asia. (n) Julian the apostate, re-

(n) In Misop.

lates in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus could not espouse Stratonice, till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shews us the misfortune of giving the least entrance into the heart of an unlawful passion capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquility of life.

(o) Seleucus being now eased of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against Lyfimachus. He there put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia minor. All the country submitted to him, as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took ; by which means he become master of all the treasures of Lyfimachus.

(p) This last, having passed the Hellespont, in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia *, but was defeated and slain ; in consequence of which Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure † on this occasion resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. This last victory, was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, which he had already assumed, and

(o) Justin. l. 17. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon. Excerpta apud Phot. c. 9. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18. Oros. 3—23. Polyæn. 4. 9.

(p) A. M. 3723. Ant J. C. 281.

* Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls *νογυπέδιον*, instead of *νυγονέδιον*, the field of Cyrus ; mentioned by Strabo, l. 13. p. 629.

† Lætus ea victoria Seleucus,

& quod majus ea victoria putabat, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum munus, gloriabatur : ignarum prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum. Justin. l. 17. c. 2.

which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph, on this occasion, was of no long continuance, for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations : for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition ; intending, when it should be compleated, to employ the same forces, for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was insensible of all the favours he had received, he had the villany to conspire against his benefactor, whom he assassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of King was secured to him ; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia ; from which time the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ* commences.

(*q*) A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauzè gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government ; but began with making a partition of his dominions ; and that he afterwards re-united them, even in the life-time of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion ; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, which has been my usual guide, and which assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

(*q*) Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Academie des Inscrip. & Belles Lettres.

This

This prince had extraordinary qualities ; and, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had dispossessed them, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius, and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lyfimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death ; and acknowledged him for their king, but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

(r) He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lyfimachus in peace, while his sister Arsinoe and the children she had by Lyfimachus were living ; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and seemed desirous of espousing her ; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arsinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself, and children. But the more she delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plausible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion ; and in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple, which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to

(r) Justin. l. 24. c. 2—4.

witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arfinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion ; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal, would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than her own. She therefore consented at last, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arfinoe felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established, in the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lyfimachus, her first husband ; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occasion, with all the public places, and private houses, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be seen, but altars and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arfinoe, Lyfimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty, and majestic mien, advanced to meet the king, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The comic part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her

arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering them the last offices, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair disheveled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons, as the completion of all her calamities.

(s) Providence would not suffer such crimes to go unpunished, but called forth a distant people to be the ministers of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a prodigious number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgus led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they dispatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceeding happy in purchasing their liberty with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus * king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was unaffected at the tydings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was

(s) A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Justin. l. 24 & 25. Pausan. l. 10. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium. Eclogæ Diod. Sic. l. 22. Callim. hymn. in Delum, & schol. ad eundem. Suidas in Γαλάται.

* Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hisque cum paucis & incompotis, quasi bella non

difficilius quàm scelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furiis agitatus, occurrit. *Justin.*

preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of twenty thousand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him ; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers ; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who had subdued the universe, under the ensigns of Alexander.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by a deputation, in case he would purchase it : but conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as hostages ; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls ; and we may from hence observe, the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and injustice of princes : he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces ; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls, who after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and shewed it to the army in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country ; upon which Sosthenes,

one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, improving the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop : But this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon this intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a resolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only served as a new motive to hasten his march ; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop, but in all probability, he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thousand men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor, and Lutatarius, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country ; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

(*t*) This desertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march ; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to a hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse. The hopes

(*t*) A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sothenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Sothenes.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the straits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece ; but were stopped for some time by the troops who had been posted there, to defend that important pass : till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains ; and the Greeks to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army toward Delphos, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command ; declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery, that *the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than themselves, and employed them in a better manner.* (u) Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing events : for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended with an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time ; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic * the ensuing night, as

(u) Justin. l. 24. c. 6—8. Pausan. l. 10. p. 652—654.

* *The ancients thought these reasons are likewise assigned for kinds of terrors were infused into that name, the mind by the god Pan. Other*

caused them to mistake their own men for the enemies, in consequence of which they destroyed themselves in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army perished in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them, had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in several parts of his body, but not mortally : when he saw that all was lost, and that the design he had formed, ended in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them ; and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own bosom, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the straits of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle, every time he wanted provisions for his troops ; and as these were always reduced to the necessity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season ; in a word ; as they were constantly harassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword ; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event ; and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that rose, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and the miraculous fall of the rocks on the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls, huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural, and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as a miraculous interposition : 'Tis certain that any account of this nature might be easily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving in to the marvellous, and seldom scrupulously examine the truth of such things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing history relates of this event. The enterprize of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety ; and injurious to religion, as well as to the deity himself ; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable, (for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves) but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleased him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the mediator,

mediator, at the appointed time, reserved for the instruction of mankind, in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a singular manner, and even among the Pagans themselves. By which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the dissolution of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

(x) Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprized Lyfimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersoneses; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterward passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia: who, after he had reduced his brother Zipetes by their assistance, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia minor, which took from them the denomination of Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people, and St. Jerom, above six hundred years after the time we now speak of, declared that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace, engaged afterward in a war with Antigonus Gonatas,

(x) Liv. l. 38. n. 16.

who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia ; or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no farther mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia, and all Greece with entire destruction.

(y) After the death of Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne, but each of them raised great armies and contracted powerful alliances ; the one to support himself in his new conquest, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead therefore of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction ; during which a treaty was concerted, and in consequence Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antigonus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable possessor, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and di-

vested of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

(z) Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land, granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antigonus defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppressors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a Deliverer.

SECT. IV. *Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the books of the holy scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care, to be translated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the Version of the Septuagint.*

(a) THE tumult of the wars which diversity of interest had kindled among the successors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were masters of a work which contained the laws of Moses, and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very considerable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judæa in his time; and it was represented to the king, that

(z) A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. (2) A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely sollicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas * a head to their masters, for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents †; which make it evident that an hundred and twenty thousand Jews recovered their freedom, by this bounteous proceeding. The king then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers, and the sum employed for this purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem, with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house

* *About ten shillings.*

† *About sixty thousand pounds.*

prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time; and in seventy-two days compleated the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version *. The whole was afterward read, and approved in the presence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves; others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended, that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others; who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations, on the mere veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them, (b) Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the sense, or style in which they were couched, was so far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every where the same, even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men

(b) Philo de vita Mosis, l. 2. p. 658.

* It is called the Septuagint, for the sake of the round number 70, but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

inspired by the spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters, performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning ; and would therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies ; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found *verbatim* in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches ; as it also was by those in the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version therefore which renders the scripture of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests ; and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many

many nations, or different languages and manners, into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious and correct language that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECT. VII. *The various expeditions of Pyrrhus : First into Italy ; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of Cineas. Secondly, into Sicily ; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans ; wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia ; of which he makes himself master for some time, after he had overthrown Antigonus. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from Philadelphus to the Romans, and from the Romans to Philadelphus.*

(c) **PYRRHUS**, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoying the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seized with joy, the first opportunity that offered, for plunging himself into new affairs.

(d) The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not

(c) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pausan. l. 1. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. 18. c. 1, 2. (d) A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes toward Epirus, and dispatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation ; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only assembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of twenty thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving from so excellent a school, the solid principles, and best maxims of true politics. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negotiations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, *That the eloquence of an enemy is no less prevalent than his sword.* And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could possibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for his person ; conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an inestimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels admitted to take place.

Cineas

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince, *Your majesty intends, said he, to march against the Romans ; should the gods be so gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would you derive from your conquest ? Were the Romans once subdued by my arms,* replied Pyrrhus, *all Italy would then be ours. Supposing ourselves masters of that country,* continued Cineas, *how should we proceed next ?* Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, *Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island. But will our expeditions,* added Cineas, *end with the conquest of Sicily ?* No, certainly, replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion, *Can we stop short in so glorious a career ? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprizes ? Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my antient domain, every province in Greece shall be part of our future conquests. And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves ? Dispose of ourselves ? We will live at our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves. Ah ! my lord,* interrupted Cineas, *and what prevents us now from living at ease, making of feasts, celebrating festivals, and enjoying all your majesty has mentioned ? Why should we go so far in search of an happiness already in our power ; and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble ?*

This discourse of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard ; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and shining outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or day.

Monfieur Pafchal has confidered this reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of *his thoughts*, wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all the world calls diversion or paftime. The foul, fays that great man, discovers nothing in herfelf that can furnifh her with contentment. Whatever ſhe beholds there, afflicts her when ſhe confiders it ſedately. This obliges her to have recourſe to external enjoyments, that ſhe may loſe in them the remembrance of her real ſtate. In this oblivion conſiſts her joy ; and, to render her miſerable, it ſuffices to oblige her to enter into, and converſe with herſelf.

He then proceeds to juſtify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of examples ; after which he adds the following remarks. When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who propoſed to live at eaſe when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to haſten his intended happineſs, by enjoying the repoſe in his power, without going in queſt of it through ſuch a number of fatigues ; he gave him a counſel that admitted of many difficulties, and which ſeemed almoſt as irrational as the deſign of that ambitious youth. Each of them ſuppoſed, that man was capable of being ſatiſfied with himſelf, and his preſent enjoyments, without filling up the void of his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly falſe. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before, or after he had conquered the world ; and perhaps the life of eaſe recommended to him by his miniſter would have proved leſs ſatisfactory to him, than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions he meditated.

It is certain, however, that neither the philoſopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately diſpatched Cineas to the Tarentines with a band of three thouſand foot ; ſoon after which a large number of flat-bottom'd veſſels, galleys, and all ſorts of transport-ſhips arriving from Tarentum, he embarked

barked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers.

All being ready, he set sail ; but as soon as he advanced into the open sea, a violent tempest rose from the North, and drove him out of his course. The vessel in which he was yielded at first to the fury of the storm ; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the king's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to save him at the hazard of their own lives ; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him ; till at last the king, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast, the next morning, on the shore, the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that escaped the storm ; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number : The infantry, however, amounted to two thousand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach,

proach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprized to find the inhabitants solely employed in pleasures, which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least prudence or interruption : And they now took it for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the public gardens, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and public shews, and was altogether as severe upon the assemblies of news-mongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with very inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which several, who had never been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city ; thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not sent him any succours at that time, yet as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hostilities, he dispatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable

amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision ? To which Levinus the consul made this reply ; *That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.*

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea ; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank, to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops ; their advanced guards ; the fine order observed universally, and the commodious situation of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw ; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him ; *Megacles, said he, the disposition of these Barbarians is by no means barbarous ; we shall see whether the rest will correspond with this appearance* *. And already anxious for the success of the future, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies ; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans if they should attempt to pass ; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation ; so that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before, with the rest of his troops, had not time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers, glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing toward him in fine order, he closed his rank, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty

* *The Greeks considered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated them accordingly.*

of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner, and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he was attentive to the functions of a general ; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, dispatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace ; and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of the troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went ; directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon, killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself ; which is an indispensable duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life ; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was
on

on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king ; and he was at last wounded by an horseman, who left him upon the spot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul ; and as he shewed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were struck with universal consternation and discouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broke by those animals, and that the horse, instead of approaching them, were so terrified that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thessalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemies camp which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him, after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops,

in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained ; and instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This exalted turn of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprized, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He therefore thought it prudent to dispatch a second embassy, in order to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation ; and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas therefore being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents, in the name of the king, to them and their wives : But not one Roman would receive them ; they all replied, and even their wives, that when Rome had made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy ; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclinable to a peace, and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise reason to be apprehensive of many fatal events ; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to want the animating spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and loss of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from public affairs : But when he understood,

understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence, the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his antient vigour, made it evident by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. “ Where, said he, with a warmth of
 “ noble indignation, where is the spirit that suggested
 “ the bold language you once uttered, and whose accents rung through all the world ; when you declared, that if the great Alexander himself had invaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age, he would never have gained the reputation of being invincible, but have added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either by his flight or death ! Is it possible then, that you should now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in cringing to one of the guards of that Alexander, and who now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, from country to country, to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who has the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy, with those very troops who have not been able to secure him a small tract of Macedonia ! ” He added many other things of the same nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and dispelled the apprehensions of the senators ; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas : *That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy, after which, if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it. But that as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand such leaders as Levinus.*

It is said, that Cineas, during his continuance at
 M 5 Rome,

Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wisdom and address, to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans ; their public as well as private conduct, with the form and constitution of their government ; and that he was industrious to obtain as exact an account as possible, of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, *That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings.* A just and noble idea of that august body ! And with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets and all parts of the country, he added, *I greatly fear we are fighting with an Hydra.* Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Levinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the first, and Rome had still an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all the honours possible. The ambassadors at their audience said every thing necessary in the present conjuncture ; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee ; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of sinking the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any little disadvantage : That the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should

teach

teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprize he was forming : That he would find, at worst, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

(e) Pyrrhus, after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect. “ Romans, “ it is with an ill grace you demand the prisoners I “ have taken from you, as you intend to employ “ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I “ proposed. If our mutual interest had been the sub- “ ject of your attention, you never would have had “ recourse to such evasions. Be it your care to end, “ by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintain- “ ing against me and my allies, and I promise to re- “ store you all my prisoners, as well your citizens as “ your confederates, without the ransom you offer “ me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for “ you to imagine, that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed “ upon to release so great number of soldiers.”

When he had returned this answer to the ambassa- dors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner. “ As for you, Fabricius, I “ am sensible of your merit. I am likewise informed “ that you are an excellent general, and perfectly “ qualified for the command of an army ; that justice “ and temperance are united in your character, and “ that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. “ But I am likewise as certain of your poverty ; and “ must confess, that fortune, in this particular alone, “ has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you “ in the class of indigent senators. In order, there- “ fore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am ready to “ give you as much gold and silver as will raise you “ above the richest citizen of Rome ; being fully per-

(e) Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 744—748.

“suaded, *That no expence can be more honourable to*
 “*a prince than that which is employed in the relief of*
 “*great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead*
 “*a life unworthy of their virtue ; and that this is the*
 “*noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his*
 “*treasures.* At the same time, I must desire you to
 “believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjust
 “or dishonourable service from you, as a return of
 “gratitude. I expect nothing from you but what is
 “perfectly consistent with your honour, and what
 “will add to your authority and importance in your
 “own country. Let me therefore conjure you to
 “assist me with your credit in the Roman senate,
 “which has hitherto assumed an air of too much in-
 “flexibility, with relation to the treaty I proposed,
 “and has never consulted the rules of moderation in
 “any respect. Make them sensible, I intreat you,
 “that I have given my solemn word to assist the Ta-
 “rentines and other Greeks who are settled in this
 “part of Italy ; and that I cannot in honour abandon
 “them on any account, and especially as I am now at
 “the head of a potent army that has already gained
 “me a battle. I must however acquaint you, that I
 “am called by some pressing affairs, to my own do-
 “minions ; and this is the circumstance which makes
 “me wish for peace with the greater sollicitude. As
 “to any other particulars, if my quality as a king
 “causes me to be suspected by the senate, because a
 “number of other princes have openly violated the
 “faith of treaties and alliances, without the least
 “hesitation ; become my security yourself on this
 “occasion ; assist me with your counsels in all my
 “proceedings, and command my armies under me.
 “I want a virtuous man, and a faithful friend ; and
 “you as much need a prince, whose liberalities may
 “enable you to be more useful, and to do more good
 “to mankind. Let us therefore consent to render
 “mutual assistance to each other, in all the future
 “conjunctures of our lives.”

Pyrrhus having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments silence, replied to him in these terms. “ It is needless for me to make
 “ any mention of the experience I may possibly have
 “ in the conduct of public or private affairs, since
 “ you have been informed of that from others. With
 “ respect also to my poverty you seem to be so well
 “ acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary
 “ for me to assure you, I have no money to improve,
 “ nor any slaves from whom I derive the least revenue :
 “ That my whole fortune consists in a house of no
 “ considerable appearance ; and in a little spot of
 “ ground that furnishes me with my support. But if
 “ you believe my poverty renders my condition inferior to that of every other Roman, and that,
 “ while I am discharging the duties of an honest man,
 “ I am the less considered, because I happen not to
 “ be of the number of the rich ; permit me to acquaint you, that the idea you conceive of me, is
 “ not just, and that whoever may have inspired you
 “ with that opinion, or you only suppose so yourself,
 “ you are deceived to entertain it. Tho’ I do not possess riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice to me, whether I consider myself as a public
 “ or private person. Did my necessitous circumstances
 “ ever induce my country to exclude me from those
 “ glorious employments, that are the noblest objects
 “ of the emulation of great souls ? I am invested with
 “ the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the
 “ head of the most illustrious embassies. I assist also
 “ at the most august assemblies, and even the most sacred functions of divine worship are confided to
 “ my care. When ever the most important affairs
 “ are the subject of deliberation, I hold my rank in
 “ councils, and offer my opinion with as much freedom as another. I preserve a parity with the richest
 “ and most powerful persons in the republic, and if
 “ any circumstance causes me to complain, it is my
 “ receiving too much honour and applause from my
 fellow-

“ fellow-citizens. The employments I discharge cost
“ me nothing of mine, no more than any other Ro-
“ man. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous
“ condition, by raising them to the magistracy. She
“ gives all necessary supplies to those she employs in
“ public stations, and bestows them with liberality and
“ magnificence. Rome, in this particular, differs from
“ many other cities, where the public is extremely poor,
“ and private persons immensely rich. We are all in
“ a state of affluence, as long as the republic is so,
“ because we consider her treasures as our own. The
“ rich and the poor are equally admitted to her em-
“ ployments, as she judges them worthy of trust, and
“ she knows no distinction between her citizens, but
“ those of merit and virtue. As to my particular
“ affairs, I am so far from repining at my fortune,
“ that I think I am the happiest of men when I com-
“ pare myself with the rich, and find a certain satis-
“ faction, and even pride, in that fortune. My lit-
“ tle field, poor and infertile as it is, supplies me with
“ whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate
“ it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces.
“ What can I want more? Every kind of food is
“ agreeable to my palate, when seasoned by hunger :
“ I drink with delight when I thirst, and I enjoy all
“ the sweetness of sleep when fatigued with toil. I
“ content myself with an habit that covers me from
“ the rigours of winter ; and of all the various kinds
“ of furniture necessary for the same uses, the meanest
“ is, in my sense, the most commodious. I should be
“ unreasonable, unjust, should I complain of fortune,
“ whilst she supplies me with all that nature requires.
“ As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished
“ me with any ; but then she has not formed me with
“ the least desire to enjoy them. Why should I then
“ complain ? It is true, the want of this abundance
“ renders me incapable of relieving the necessitous,
“ which is the only advantage the rich may be en-
“ vied for enjoying. But when I impart to the re-
“ public,

“ public, and my friends, some portion of the little
 “ I possess, and render my country all the services I
 “ am capable of performing; in a word, when I dis-
 “ charge all the duties incumbent on me, to the best
 “ of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn
 “ me? If riches had ever been the least part of my
 “ ambition, I have so long been employed in the ad-
 “ ministration of the republic, that I have had a
 “ thousand opportunities of amassing great sums, and
 “ even by irreproachable methods. Could any man
 “ desire one more favourable than that which occurred
 “ to me a few years ago? The consular dignity was
 “ conferred upon me, and I was sent against the Sam-
 “ nites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head
 “ of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract
 “ of land, and defeated the enemy in several battles:
 “ We took many flourishing and opulent cities by
 “ assault; I enriched the whole army with their
 “ spoils; I returned every citizen the money he had
 “ contributed to the expence of the war; and after I
 “ had received the honours of a triumph, I brought
 “ four hundred talents into the public treasury. After
 “ having neglected so considerable a booty, of which
 “ I had full power to appropriate any part to myself;
 “ after having despised such immense riches so justly
 “ acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to
 “ the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publi-
 “ cola, and many other great men, whose disinterest-
 “ ed generosity of mind has raised the glory of Rome
 “ to so illustrious an height; would it now become me
 “ to accept of the gold and silver you offer me? What
 “ idea would the world entertain of me? And what
 “ an example should I set Rome’s citizens? How
 “ could I bear their reproaches? how even their looks
 “ at my return? Those awful magistrates, our cen-
 “ sors, who are appointed to inspect our discipline
 “ and manners with a vigilant eye, would they not
 “ compel me to be accountable, in the view of all the
 “ world, for the presents you solicit me to accept?
 “ You

“ You shall keep then, if you please, your riches to yourself, and I my poverty, and my reputation.”

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches, but he has only painted their sentiments, especially those of the latter, in strong colours. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius was really persuaded, there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire*.

(f) Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprize the Roman ambassador, who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converse with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a large hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the sign being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view, the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprize or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him with a smile, *Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me.*

Whilst they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the doctrines of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his disciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world: declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he ad-

(f) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majusque regno judicavit regis opes posse contemnere. *Senec. Epist. 129.*

ded,

ded, that they never ascribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath ; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind ; and that they consigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, *Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans !*

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the antients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political systems, but points of erudition ; for at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning ? Are not such discourses as these, seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those table-conversations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are passed, without much expence of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors ?

Pyrrhus was struck with so much admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambaffador, and was so charmed with his manners and his wisdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. *I would not advise you to persist in that request,* replied Fabricius, whispering in his ear with a smile, *and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest ;*
for

for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself.

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it, and would intrust the prisoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompence proportionable to the service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. Fabricius, who always retained the same probity and justice *, even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them; and as he knew there were some rights, which ought to be preserved inviolable, even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal: And as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference therefore with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

* Eiusdem animi fuit, auro non vioci, veneno non vincere. Admirati sumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promissa flexissent; boni exempli tenacem; quod difficillimum est, in

bello innocentem; qui aliquod esse crederet etiam in hoste nefas; qui in summa paupertate, quam sibi decus fecerat, non aliter refugit divitias quam venenum. Senec. Epist. 120.

CAIUS FABRICIUS

AND

QUINTUS EMILIUS

CONSULS;

TO KING PYRRHUS,

HEALTH.

YOU seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that you repose entire confidence in the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves, than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to defame us; and would not have it imagined, that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true representation of the fact, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise deputed Cineas to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, were not averse to receiving the prisoners: they however returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a second battle necessary, he assembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Asculum.

The

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks, as marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous situation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous resistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself was wounded. He, however, had disposed his elephants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in several quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to fifteen thousand men in the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp which was near the field of battle. The advantage therefore seemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, *If we gain such another, replied he, we are inevitably ruined.* And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest officers, he was very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field, against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war*.

(g) While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts

(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. 1: p. 22.* Justin. l. 18. c. 2. & l. 23. c. 3.

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro. Horat.

in his mind, and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to disengage himself from an enterprize he had undertaken, too inconsiderately a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with new resolution. A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines into his possession ; (b) and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend to the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately dispatched Cineas, to treat with the cities, and gave them assurances of his speedy arrival ; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification to see themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus *, who then governed that city, and

(b) A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

* He is called *Seistratus*, by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them, out of the public treasury, and about two hundred ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people ; and as he had then an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence : He also defeated in a great battle the inhabitants of Messina, who were called *Mamertines* *, and whose frequent irruptions infested all Sicily, and entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum ; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. - He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles ; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily ; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners ;

* The word signifies martial, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themselves

masters of Messina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

in order therefore to obtain that supply, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men, and severely punished those that neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and bestowed them upon his own creatures. (i) In contempt of the customs of that country, he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prescribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings, with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive and different from that, by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him ; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel ; and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus, did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy ; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus.

(i) Dionys. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 571.

He also resolved to have Sostratus seized, but as he had some suspicion of what was intended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. The same barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conducted most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: His vigorous conduct in the enterprizes he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preserve them *. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all round, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time, for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse, the Carthaginians attacked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those Barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but upon his arrival there, he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed thither before him, to the number of near ten thousand men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harraſſing his

* Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis acquisitisque celeriter carebat: tanto

melius studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere. *Justin*, l. 25. c. 4.

troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

(*k*) Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, tell us, one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration, by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers, and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it. (*l*) Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ship. The next day, if history may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were loaded with these rich and sacred spoils, were cast upon the coast of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced by this cruel disaster, that the gods were imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents this impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprises.

(*m*) Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them, when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not

(*k*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. 23. c. 3.
(*l*) Liv. l. 29. n. 18. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerpt. p. 542. (*m*) A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.

prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies ; one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague : The other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post, near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened, as much as possible, to attack this last, before the other had joined him ; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest, and of most service in the field ; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprize the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning, as he was descending the mountains ; and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their entrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed their enemies with great vigour ; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions ; which created such a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a compleat victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations. For the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement,

engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus, rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had received, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good casts at tables, but played them very ill.

(n) He at length returned to Epirus, with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without any difficulty, and had also seduced two thousand of Antigonus's sol-

(n) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. 1. c. 23. Justin. l. 25. c. 3.

diers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes ; marched against Antigonus himself ; attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, and the encounter grew very warm ; but most of them were at last cut to pieces ; and those who commanded the elephants, being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained ; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian * Minerva. *Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva, these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprized at this event. The descendants of Æacus are still as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant.*

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Æge †, whose inhabitants he treated with great severity, and garrisoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as insatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took

* Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphycyon, and she had two temples dedicated to her, under this name ; one in Thessaly, near Larissa,

which was the same with that in the passage before us : the other was in Bœotia, near Coronæa.

† A city of Macedonia on the river Haliacmon.

possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there. They also carried off all the riches inclosed in those monuments, and with sacrilegious insolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention ; or that his pressing occasion for the service of these Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an enquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents : so criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the opinion of the Macedonians.

(c) Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reasons to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprizes. Cleonymus the Spartan came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons ; Acrotates, and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute, with relation to the sovereignty, arose between Areus and Cleonymus ; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair, to her husband

(c) A. M. 3732. Ant. J. C. 272. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—403. Pausan. l. 1. p. 23, 24. & l. 3. p. 168. Justin. l. 25. c. 4.

Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy ; for his disgrace was public, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained for him. Animated therefore with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once, on his partial citizens, and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse ; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta ; and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them, that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city ; and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march ; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom ; and faith for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedæmon, which Cleonymus desired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Arcus who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The
Helots,

Helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception ; firmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and shewed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point : One among them in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, *What could be their inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they would consent to live after the destruction of Sparta ?*

The same council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work : but as the absence of their king, and the surprize with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch, a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, sunk in the earth, up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by these means they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter, to take some repose, while the night lasted ; they proceeded to measure the length of the trench,

and took in the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they compleated before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth; six in depth, and nine hundred in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; intreating them, at the same time, to consider, how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the fight of their country, and breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the rest, she prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be passed; but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, because the earth which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out two thousand Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage for the rest of the troops. But these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty, by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the first who saw the danger, and immediately shot through the city with three hundred soldiers. Having taken a large compass, he
poured

poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and prest upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonida ; an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter, along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry : The Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves very much ; particularly Phyllius, who after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed with his own hand, all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought ; finding himself at last faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that post, and after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement ; but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forsake them, but were

always at hand to furnish arms, and refreshments to such as wanted them ; and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch, with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies ; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their affecting that design.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, and pushed forwards full speed to the city. Those who defended this post, sent up loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced, and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of the city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and with their arrows repulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seem'd desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops ; which had scarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with two thousand foot, which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible,

that

that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king ; but after he had made some attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enterprise, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there ; but he was diverted from this design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

(*p*) Aristæas, and Aristippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself, by the favour and protection of Antigonus ; and Aristæas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new motions, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages ; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity ; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristæas, than he began his march to Argos. King Arcus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians, who formed his rear-guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the sharpest sorrow, immediately led

(*p*) A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403—406. Pausan. l. 1. p. 24. Justin. l. 25. c. 5.

up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers ; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles ; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even surpassed himself ; and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a compleat victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning, to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat ; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, *That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it.*

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to intreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily

readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as an hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire, but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristæas, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low ; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there, when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus, to press his speedy advance to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Areus also arrived at Argos, with a thousand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened, on his part to sustain them, but the darkness and confusion were then so great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared he was not a little surprized to see the citadel filled with enemies ; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehensions, with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow ; he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have

a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary message, in consequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father ; who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mein, and frequently faced about, and repulsed those who pursued him ; but when he found himself engaged in a narrow street, which ended at the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased, by the arrival of the troops his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance :
And to counteract the calumny in which they were in-

ther beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness ; his hands dropped the reins ; and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcyonæus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rid away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it ; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate

up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers ; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles ; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even surpassed himself ; and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a compleat victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning, to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat ; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, *That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it.*

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to intreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily

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Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward and were drove back, like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and, then confiding in the goodness of his horse, he sprung into the throng of the enemies who pursued him ; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother

ther beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness ; his hands dropped the reins ; and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcyonæus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rid away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it ; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army ; he treated his son Helenus and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is justly due to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Romans themselves ; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour, by a person the most worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior ; and the best qualified to form a competent judgment in that particular. (7) Livy reports, from an historian whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander

(7) Liv. l. 35. n. 14.

in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third.

The same general also characterised Pyrrhus, by adding, “ That he was the first who taught the art
“ of encamping ; that no one was more skilful in
“ choosing his posts, and drawing up his troops ;
“ that he had a peculiar art in conciliating affection,
“ and attaching people to his interest ; and this to
“ such a degree, that the people of Italy were more
“ desirous of having him for their master, though a
“ stranger, than to be governed by the Romans them-
“ selves, who, for so many years, had held the first
“ rank in that country.”

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities ; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals, masters of this art before him ? The Romans, indeed, learnt it from him, and Hannibal’s evidence extends no farther. However, these extraordinary qualities alone, are not sufficient to constitute a great commander ; and even proved ineffectual to him on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people ; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy’s city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person, without the least precaution, like a common soldier ; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer ; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shews strength and intrepidity, than a wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the ge-
neral

neral safety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not be also said, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through temperament, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he was tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddness of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes, and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprises without the least maturity of thought, and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slender occasions, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty, and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece; his cares and attention were employed nowhere so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities, no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his va-
lour

lour consist in their defence, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and security.

(*r*) The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compel to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus ; (*s*) Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship, and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

(*t*) An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold ; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them ; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the king's statues erected in the public parts of the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns ; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive

(*r*) A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. (*s*) Liv. Epit. l. 4. Eutrop. l. 2.
(*t*) A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. Liv. & Eutrop. *ibid.* Val. Max. l. 4.
c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This indeed was an amiable contest between generosity and glory, and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men, who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return ; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves ? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompence merit in this manner ? We may observe here, says an historian *, three fine models set before us in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECT. VIII. *Athens besieged and taken by Antigonus.*

The just punishment inflicted on Sotades, a satyric poet. The revolt of Magus from Philadelphus. The death of Philateres, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of Antiochus Soter. He is succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Theus. The wise measures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of commerce. An accommodation effected between Magus and Philadelphus. The death of the former. The war between Antiochus and Ptolemy. Revolt of the East against Antiochus. Peace restored between the two kings. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

THE Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seemed, by losing their liberty, to have been also divested of that courage, and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their antient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last,

* Valerius Maximus.

beneath a foreign yoke ; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their antient liberties, but impetuously, and without success.

(u) Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, became very powerful, some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece : The Lacedemonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens ; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals ; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent, at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution ; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more advisable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination, nor good intelligence, between them. Athens thus abandoned by her allies,

(u) A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Justin. l. 26. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 168, & in Attic. p. 1.

Became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison into it.

(x) Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licence, both of his muse, and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lyfimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lyfimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satyr against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoe, his own sister; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets who profess satyr, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill dipped in the bitterest gaul, respects neither rank, nor virtue.

(y) The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never suspected any such treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations therefore obtained for him this go-

(x) A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Athen. l. 14. p. 620, 621.

(y) A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. Pausan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

vernment, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government, by long possession, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent ; and as ambition is a boundless passion, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army ; and, in his march towards Alexandria, made himself master of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition ; and he immediately returned to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops ; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by four thousand Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

(z) Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan : It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas in-

(z) A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264.

vaded him on the other ; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence ; and Magas, who expected a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviseable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

(a) Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of fourscore. He was an eunuch, and originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus ; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the service of Lyfimachus, was soon followed by Phileteres. Lyfimachus finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and entrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lyfimachus very faithfully in this post for several years ; but his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lyfimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related ; and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen ; and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Phileteres, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus ; after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lyfimachus ; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted his affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the

(a) A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Strab. l. 13. p. 623, 624. Pausan. Att. p. 13, & 13.

successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

(b) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lyfimachus destroyed, had formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the Lower Empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Phileterus to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a compleat victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

(c) Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered * one of his sons to be put to death, for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed King; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominion. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from

(b) A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Pausan. Eliac. i. p. 405. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. c. 9. Memn. c. 21. Strab. l. 13. p. 624. (c) A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Trog. in Prologo. l. 26.

* *Mr. La Naze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The Reader may consult Tome VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.*

his

his mother-in-law, became his consort, as I have formerly observed.

(*d*) Antiochus the son, when he came to the crown, was espoused to Laodice, his sister by the father. He afterward assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Cœlosyria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria, in Asia minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the seat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of *God*. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages ! (*e*) The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour ; and the people of Smyrna, were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

(*f*) Berofus, the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign ; and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berofus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens,

(*d*) A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Polyæn. Stratag. l. 8. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 230. Justin. l. 27. c. 1. (*e*) Athen. l. 6. p. 255. (*f*) Tatian. in Orat. Cen. Græc. p. 171. Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7.

where, notwithstanding the vanity of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold (*g*), in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercise. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

(*b*) Ptolemy being solicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East ; which till then had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath ; and from thence by land, to Rhinocorura, and from this last place, by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura, were two sea-ports ; the first on the eastern shore of the Red-sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

(*i*) Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red-sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it, almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice ; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near and much better ; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped and brought down the Nile, to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandize, which was afterward exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red-sea lay cross the deserts, where no water

(*g*) Plin. 737. (*b*) A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C: 259. (*i*) Strab. 17. p. 815. Plin. l. 6. c. 23.

could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans ; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances for the reception of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of burden with all necessary accommodations.

As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient ; for as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red-sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. (*k*) This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it, much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars ; one twenty ; four rowed with fourteen ; two, with twelve ; fourteen, with eleven ; thirty, with nine ; thirty-seven, with seven ; five, with six ; and seventeen, with five. The number of the whole amounted to a hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults ; but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia minor ; as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

(*l*) Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt ;

(*k*) Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Athen. l. 5. p. 203.
Ant. J. C. 258.

(*l*) A. M. 3745.

and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

(*m*) Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Toward the close of his days, he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls Arsinoë, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia, to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatas, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time, but as soon as Apamia beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apamia was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

(*n*) The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long

(*m*) A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Athen. l. 12. p. 550. Justin. l. 26. c. 3. (*n*) A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256. Hieron. in Daniel.

space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.

(*o*) Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp ; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable.

(*p*) Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece ; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

(*q*) While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East, and which his remoteness at that time rendered him incapable of providing with the necessary expedition. The revolt therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

(*r*) The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for

(*o*) A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 255. Strab. l. 17. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel. (*p*) A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Plut. in Arato. p. 1031. (*q*) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. (*r*) Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot., Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. 41. c. 4. Strab. l. 11. p. 515.

Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction, but great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety with several persons whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander; first, under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly under Antiochus.

(s) Much about the same time, Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and from a governor, became king of that province; after which he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war; and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and * M. Atilius Regulus, were Consuls at Rome; that is to say, the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.

(t) The troubles and revolts in the East, made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accord-

(s) Justin. & Strab. *ibid.*

(t) A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249.

Hieron. in Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. l. 8. c. 50. Athen. l. 2. p. 45.

* In all facts he is called C. Atilius.

ingly concluded between them, and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy ; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons : Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile, transmitted to her ; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

(u) *I will now shew thee the truth.* These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man cloathed in linen. *Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne ; his son Cambyfes ; and Darius, the sons of Hyftaspes. And the fourth shall be far richer than they all : and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.* The mo-

(u) Dan. xi. 2.

narch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

(x) *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.*

(y) *And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, (by his death) and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be pluckt up, even for others beside those, namely, beside the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander * parcelled out into four great kingdoms; without including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.*

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

(z) *The king of the South shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion: his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.*

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

(a) *The king of the South shall be strong.* This king

(x) Dan. chap. xi. ver. 3. (y) Ver. 4. (z) Ver. 5, 6. (a) Ver. 5.

* Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri diuturnum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus. Liv. l. 45. n. 9.

of the South was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt ; and *the king of the North*, was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judæa ; which has Syria to the North, and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls *the king of the South*, and declares, that *he shall be strong*. The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in his history : For he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palæstine, Cœlosyria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia minor ; with the island of Cyprus ; as also several isles in the Ægean sea, which is now called the Archipelago ; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

(b) The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four successors to this empire, whom he calls *Princes, or Governors*. This was Seleucus Nicator, *the king of the North* ; of whom he declares, *that he shall be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive* : for this is the import of the prophet's expression, *he shall be strong above him, and have dominion*. It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt ; for he was master of all the East, from mount Taurus to the river Indus ; and also of several provinces in Asia minor, between mount Taurus and the Ægean sea ; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

(c) Daniel then informs us, *that the daughter of the king of the South, came to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings*. This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antigonus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration

(b) Dan. chap. xi. ver. 6. (c) Ver. 6.

of this alliance ; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will shew us the fatal event of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the scriptures, which have related in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above three hundred years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of events, extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment ; by the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted ! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point ? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice ? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises in a secret certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will, and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees ; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind ?

(d) As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs and pictures, of excellent

(d) A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 284. Liban. orat. 11.

masters ;

masters ; as he also was in books ; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, which suited his taste exceedingly. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoë was seized with an indisposition, and dreamt that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was sent back as soon as possible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure ; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss ; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in removing the statue of Diana out of the temple.

This passion for statues, pictures, and other excellent curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree ; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by stripping private houses and temples, of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such base extremities, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth and fortune, *Sell me this picture, or that statue**,

* Superbum est & non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido : vende mihi vasa cœlata. Hec

est enim dicere : non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt. Meæ dignitatis ista sunt. Cic. *erat. de signis*, n. 45.

since it is in effect, declaring, *you are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession ; which suits only a person of my rank and taste.* I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this passion ; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds.*

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children, when he espoused her ; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory, after her death. He gave her name to several cities which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

(e) Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her, at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of that queen suspended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect in those times ; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time ; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Mohammed was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death ; but this is a mere vulgar error without the least foundation.

(f) Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Ar-

(e) Plin. l. 34. c. 14. (f) A. M. 3757. Ant. J. C. 247. Athen. l. 12. p. 10.

* Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis. pretio, nisi libidini feceris. *Id.* n. 14.
Difficile est enim finem facere

finoe but a short time. He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the soft manner of life he led, contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. (g) He left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lyfimachus, a different person from the last mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son, Ptolemy Evergetes, succeeded him in the throne; the second bore the name of Lyfimachus his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

SECT. IX. *Character and Qualities of Ptolemy Philadelphus*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counter-poised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the first period of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit; I mean Demetrius Phalereus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge, at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for

(g) Canon. Ptolem. Astron.

this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praises in some of his Idyllia. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and it is certain, that he spared no expence in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory, as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner, as suited the dignity of a prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use that expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess, and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expences, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what

he

he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic ; that he opened a very long canal through deserts destitute of water ; and maintained a very numerous and compleat navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety and freedom in his ports, without any impositions on trade, or the least intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest ; as he was persuaded, that commerce was like some springs, that soon cease to flow, when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince, and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of their first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years ; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind into all nations ; drawing continually from them, a return of voluntary contributions ; uniting the East and West by the mutual supply of their respective wants ; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires ; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and became daily more useful and indispensable

indispensable to all nations. So that when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native soil, is another glorious panegyric on this prince ; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendors of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination ; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner ; to make arts and manufactures flourish ; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

A R T I C L E III.

THE third article comprehends the history of twenty-five years, including the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes.

SECT. I. *Antiochus Theos is poisoned by his queen Laodice, who causes Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. She also destroys Berenice and her son. Ptolemy Evergetes avenges their death, by that of Laodice, and seizes part of Asia. Antiochus Hierax, and Seleucus his brother, unite against Ptolemy. The death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. He is succeeded by his son Demetrius. The war between the two brothers, Antiochus and Seleucus. The death of Eumenes,*

Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus succeeds him. The establishment of the Parthian empire by Arsaces. Anticchus is slain by robbers. Seleucus is taken prisoner by the Parthians. Credit of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy. The death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus seizes the throne of that prince. The death of Seleucus.

(b) **A**S soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This lady, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to supplant her, by receiving Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy ; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus, should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice therefore caused Antiochus to be poisoned ; and when she saw him expiring, she placed in his bed a person named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had occasion for, and acquitted himself with great dexterity ; taking great care in the few visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

(b) A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. 7. c. 12. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 14. Solin. c. 1. Justin. l. 27. c. 1.

Laodice, not believing herself safe, as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but that princess being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator; but being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice; first her son, and then herself with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold, with relation to this marriage. *(i) The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* I am not surprized that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer, if he had even been a spectator of the facts he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which in the time of Daniel constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? And yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above three hundred years before that happened. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterward reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be

(i) Dan. xi. 6.

succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and till then had been her strength and support. “Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be believed and revered!” *Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.*

Whilst Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune: In consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Evergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris: and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which ob-
liged

liged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He however left Antiochus, one of his general, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of mount Taurus ; and Xantippus was entrusted with those that lay beyond it : Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, loaded with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off forty thousand * talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols, that Cambyfes, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their antient temples, when he returned from this expedition : For the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which signifies a *Benefactor*, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects ; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. (*k*) *But out of a branch of her root, (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North, (Seleucus Callinicus) and shall deal*

(*k* Dan. xi. 7—9.

* About six millions sterling.

against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land ; namely, into that of Egypt.

(1) When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed ; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care, in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour to his beloved Arsinoe on Zephyrion, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated hair being lost soon after, by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence ; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven, and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation ; declaring, at the same time, that those were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of

(1) Hygini. Poet. Astron. l. 2. Nonnus in hist. Synag. Catullus de coma Beren.

Berenice, which Catullus afterward translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

(*m*) Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria ; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shewn to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.

(*n*) Seleucus had been detained for some time in his kingdom by the apprehension of domestic troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprize was however ineffectual, for as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest ; as if heaven itself, says * Justin, had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus and some of his attendants were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished, and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

(*m*) Joseph. contr. Appian. l. 2.
J. C. 245. Justin. l. 27. c. 2.

(*n*) A. M. 3759. Ant.

* Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

(o) This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who were left him when he escaped from the shipwreck at sea: as if says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune *.

After this second frustration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia minor, were induced by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: They had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and, with several other antique marbles, was presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I

(o) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

* Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quàm ut amitteret. *Justin.*

with the same zeal had been ever testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary, would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age *, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the surname of † Hierax, which signifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good, upon which he lays his talons.

(q) When Ptolemy received intelligence that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus, against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he

(q) A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243.

* Antiochus, cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra ætatem regni avidus, occasionem non tam pio animo, quàm offerebatur, arripuit: sed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer scelera-

tam virilemque sumit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cognominatus: quia, non hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam sectaretur. *Justin.*

† *A. Kite.*

might not have both those princes for his enemies at the same time.

(*r*) Antigonus Gonatas died much about this period, at the age of eighty, or eighty-three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. (*s*) Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

This prince still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them *; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. (*t*) Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia minor, as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them; it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with

(*r*) A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.
p. 131. Justin. l. 28. c. 1.

(*s*) Polyb. l. 2.
(*t*) Justin. l. 27. c. 2.

* Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, imploratus exhibuit.

the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops on whose valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army amongst them.

(u) Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being desirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both in consequence of their division. The imminent danger, to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before assumed, for that of their ally; and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them which cost him but little, and laid all Asia minor open to him.

(x) Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inhe-

(u) Justin. l. 27. c. 3. (x) A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Athen. l. 10, p. 445. Strab. l. 13. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb.

rited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to assume the stile, of sovereigns. Attalus therefore was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and after him Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the west, Theodotus and Arsaces were proceeding by their example in the east. (y) The latter hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which in process of time became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other, with the most implacable warmth, not considering that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia: (z) Finding therefore that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of en-

(y) Justin. l. 41. c. 4.

(z) A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.
P 2 certainlying

tertaining a son-in-law who became a burden to him ; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt ; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to the power of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He however had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned ; (a) he also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtesan ; but as he was quitting that kingdom he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.

(b) Ptolemy in the mean time devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books : but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them ; (c) Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. (d) He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.

(e) When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the

(a) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

(b) A. M. 3765.

Ant. J. C. 239.

(c) Suid. in voce. Ζηνόδοτος.

(d) Id.

in voce. Απολλώνιος & Ερατοσθένης.

(e) A. M. 3786

Ant. J. C. 236.

troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from him. This last attempt however was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprize in a dishonourable manner. He perhaps might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.

(f) Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as soon as his affairs would admit; but this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first *Æra* of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government, if they had persevered to submit to it. Arsaces now began to assume the title of King, and firmly established this empire of the East, which in process of time counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of

(f) A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Justin. l. 41. c. 4 & 5.

Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans*. This verifies that passage in holy scripture, which declares, (g) *That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.*

(h) Onias, the sovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to send Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several considerable persons of Cœlosyria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces.

(g) Dan. iv. 17.
Antiq. l. 12. c. 3 & 4.

(u) A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Joseph.

* Arsaces, quæsito simul consuetoque regno, non minùs memorabilis Parthis [fuit,] quàm

Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus. *Justin.*

As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them all the circumstances he could desire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court; and without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity he expressed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them, who set out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impressions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his presence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt, offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreting the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased; but being

apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum, would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy replied with a calm air, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves, and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

(i) King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a son named Philip, in an early state of minority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed * *Doson*.

(k) Five or six years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for some time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice,

(i) A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 323. Justin. l. 28. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphy. Euseb. (k) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Justin. l. 7. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

* This name signifies, in the Greek language, One who will give, that is to say, a person who promises to give, but never gives what he promises.

the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His sons were Selecus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and was in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonians. It will therefore be necessary for me to represent the present state of those two republics, and I shall begin with that of the Achæans.

SECT. II. *The establishment of the republic of the Achæans. Aratus delivers Sicyon from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of Ptolemy Evergetes, to extinguish a sedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from Antigonus king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Træzene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league; but is not so successful with respect to Argos.*

(1) THE republic of the Achæans was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops, the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty, and this reputation was very antient. The Crotoniats and Sybarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans, for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which subsisted between them.

(1) Polyb. l. 8. p. 125—130.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It likewise preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve * cities, all in Peloponnesus, but together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republic did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because amongst all her citizens she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change a single man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after him, to Cassander; and last of all to Antigonus Gonatas, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

(*m*) Toward the beginning of the CXXIVth Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy; the republic of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their antient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyma laid the foundations of this happy change: The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and constituted one body of a republic anew: all affairs were

(*m*) A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

* These twelve cities were, Patræ, Dyma, Pharæ, Tritæa, Leontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.

decided

decided by a public council: the registers were committed to a common secretary: the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

(*n*) Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abantidas found means to disconcert this amiable plan, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed, and as he was wandering about the city in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as also she believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an im-

(*n*) Plut. in Arato, p. 1027—1031.

placable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his fathers at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

(o) Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies he sent to Argos, kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat, through subterranean passages, and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that *Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their liberty*. Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burnt it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of five hundred.

(o) A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined therefore that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports, nor any other maritime stations of security. But with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did those Achæans, (who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the antient power of Greece) by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens, with the malignant breath of envy; thus I say did these Achæans not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants; but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he discovered in the execution of their orders: for though
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he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those occasions, and pay an exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

(*p*) The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his sentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs: his expressions in discourse were always proper; his thoughts just; and even his silence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprizes against an enemy; in making his designs impenetrable secrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must however be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man, at the head of an army: nothing could then be discovered in him, but protraction, irresolution, and timidity; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with

(*p*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. 4. p. 277, 278.

the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds ; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic, and undaunted ; and at others, all their vigor, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.

(*q*) I have already observed, that those citizens who had been banished, gave Aratus great perplexity. His disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the lands and houses they possessed before their exile ; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterward sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions, after their recal from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed, before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on the following occasion.

(*q*) A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031—1033.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings: Aratus therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taste of which was preserved there in all its antient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent, (equal to a thousand crowns) not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital disciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was enchanted with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholly situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and presented him with a hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and

and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not for engrossing the decision of all affairs to himself, is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels, to assist him in the determination of this important affair, (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people by public inscriptions declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

A success so illustrious gave Antigonus jealousy and even fear; in consequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him suspected to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he therefore was resolved to employ him in his affairs: He concluded this strain of artifice with intreating all the lords of his court
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who were then present, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprized and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time, ravaged Locris and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of ten thousand men to succour the Bœotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea *, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

(r) Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the most illustrious enterprizes of the Grecian leaders.

The Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, that are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication by land and sea, from the inner part of the Isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel *the shackles of Greece*, and as it was capable of being rendered such, it created jealousy in all the neighbouring states, and especially in kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

(r) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 224.

* Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athe-

nians and Thebans, near the same place.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprize, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this success, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the summit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and with a smile desired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding, at the same time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprize. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed; but as it became requisite to deposit that sum in the hands of the banker, for the security of the two brothers; and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving suspicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterprize, he pledged all his gold and silver plate,

plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardor for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them ; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was solicitous to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's self and fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known for an enterprize, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprizing an instance of magnanimity ! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action !

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great men who distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprize were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed
sufficient

sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual ; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute : they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the centinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with a hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able ; and when they had all mounted the walls, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrowded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line, against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The

streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights that were immediately set up in the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every place resounded with confused cries that were not to be distinguished.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks, which at first were very difficult of ascent, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The three hundred soldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bending rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard: but as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers therefore not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and passed by those three hundred men without perceiving them: But when he had advanced a little beyond them,

them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seized with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all dispersed themselves in the city.

This defeat was immediately succeeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been sent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate assistance. The troops then desired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardor. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight silence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at last had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that soon dispersed them, upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays saw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the same time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, assisted them in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually secured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vast concourse of people, drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak.

speaking. After he had posted his Achæans in two lines in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage compleatly armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of rest, and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude, by repeated applauses and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand ; and then rested upon it, with his body bent a little toward the audience, in which posture he continued for some time.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league ; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewise delivered to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty, but caused Theophrastus to suffer death, for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took five hundred war-horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he afterward sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of four hundred men.

An action so bold and successful as this, must undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus, and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendency of the

the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event acquired him so much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years, was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoined that command without any discontinuation : For it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendship of kings, no nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other consideration whatever, had the least competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achæans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which only thrive and exist by their mutual union ; and must infallibly perish, when once they are separated ; as the sustenance by which they subsist will be discontinued from that moment. Cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved ; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

(a) All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny ; the re-establishment of the cities in their antient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprizes of Antigonus Gonatas, during the life of that prince.

(b) He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius, who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for

(a) Polyb. l. 2. p. 130. J. C. 242. Polyb. l. 2. p. 91—101. A. M. 3770. Ant. J. C. 234. (b) A. M. 3762. Ant. Appian, de bellis Illyr. p. 760.

the space of ten years. The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to destroy the Achæan league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them. The Achæans, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

(c) Illyrium was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the son of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharos, so called from a city of Illyrium subject to him, were the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. (d) Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son, named Pinæus. These people harrassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good services were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharos, with his garrison, into their city.

(e) The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta to complain of those injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, in revenge for so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyrium by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of

(c) A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232.
Ant. J. C. 228.

(d) A. M. 3776.

(e) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

Pharos,

Pharus, delivered up to the consul Fulvius the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but consigned several cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

(f) Teuta reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places which she was permitted to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lissus, with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been subordinate to Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned none but that princess.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country. They also sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also dispatched to Corinth and Athens, and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a public decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their solemn mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of the people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens: others of

them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their example ; and he procured several advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent their conduct.

(g) Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance ; and made it a point of honour, to restore liberty to that city, as a recompence for the education he had received there, and he also considered the accession of so potent a city to the A-chæan league, as highly advantageous to the common cause : but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domestics ; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Aristippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the consent of the Argives ; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus Dofon, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern : for when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops for the security of his person, and who had shed the blood of

(g) Plut. in Arat. p. 1038—1041.

all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords, and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticos which entirely surrounded that structure. He drove away all his domestics the moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept as we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe and a mind void of fear: and whereas all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as so many ramparts for their safety, seldom escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always shewed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which subsists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world *.

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had

* Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addresses the life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two

sons, by whom the race was still continued, three hundred and fifty years after the death of Aratus.

defeated the enemy ; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus and above fifteen hundred of his men lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of restoring liberty to the inhabitants ; as Agias, and the young Aristomachus had thrown a body of the king's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lyfiades had usurped the supreme power. This person had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement, than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power : but he resigned the tyranny either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league were affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general ; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprizes which seemed necessary at that juncture, and among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmost credit to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lyfiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside which concealed a dangerous ambition, and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will for the future have a considerable share in the war sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECT. III. *Agis king of Sparta attempts to reform the state, and endeavours to revive the antient institutions of Lycurgus; in which he partly succeeds: but finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined Aratus against the Eto- lians. He is at last condemned to die, and executed accordingly.*

(b) **W**HEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterward introduced luxury, avarice, sloth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches, and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her antient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the sixteenth descendant from Agefilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Plataæ.

I have already related the divisions which arose in Sparta, between Cleonymus* and Areus, in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and

(b) Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

* Josephus relates, that Areus king of Lacedæmon sent letters to Onias the high-priest of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the

Lacedæmonians: The original of this relation is not easily to be distinguished, nor is it less difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

he afterward caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedæmon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotates who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son, named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time, upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the antient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had resided for several years in the palaces of the Satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus: he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterward employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidst riches*, and the luxury of a house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he from the first renounced all those ensnaring pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the antient form of public meals, baths, and all the antient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, *That he should not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the antient laws and discipline of Sparta.* These noble sentiments were a demonstration, that Agis had formed a solid judgment of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the

* Pindarch informs us, that his mother Agefistrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more

gold and silver, than all the other Lacedæmonians together.

branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded, the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition however of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended in some measure the ill effects of those abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony in his own life-time, or to make a testamentary donation of them to whom he pleased; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is indeed surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an antient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the passion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority, in their several families; since it was not then possessed of any motives for filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect, immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domestic inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard all good order in families, created strong impressions in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniencies which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects would be soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us, how dangerous it is to change the antient laws *, on which basis a state, a community has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniencies from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of antient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead.

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by the new law, which authorized the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs to whom they belonged; in consequence of which all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; the poverty which then prevailed through the whole city, sunk the people into a mean indolence of mind; by extinguishing those ardors for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city, was reduced to about seven hundred; and not many more than a hundred of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a starving populace, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: These acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible, the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situa-

* Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est: veteribus, nisi quæ usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt. *Liv. l. 34. n. 54.*

tion of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

(i) Such was the state of Sparta, when Agis entertained the design of redressing the abuses which then prevailed ; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprize was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and Reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with a passion for riches ; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expence to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured by his means to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors ; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs : When Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation, on the first ideas it presented to her mind, and employed all the arguments she could invent, to dissuade him from it : But when Agesilaus joined his own reflections with those of the king, and had made his sister comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of such a design, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her sex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their sentiments, and were so affected with the beauty of the project, that they

(i) A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 248,

themselves pressed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible. They likewise sent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedæmonians had always expressed the greatest deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestic affairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obstruction to the designs of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly foreseeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidst the consternation this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an ascendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in dissuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to support the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were desirous of this change, he could not presume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself with crossing his designs by indirect measures. He had a private conference with the magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp; in consequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raising a body of guards for the security of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lyfander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these. 1. All debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pellene, to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewise to Selafia, should be parcelled out into four thousand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond those limits should be comprehended in fifteen thousand lots. 4. The last portions were to be distributed to those inhabitants of the adjacent parts, who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Those lands which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be reserved for the Spartans, whose due number, which was then considerably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people and strangers, as had received an honest and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifty halls, distinguished by the name of *Phidicies*; the least of which should contain two hundred, and the largest four hundred: and lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree, being opposed by the senators, whose sentiments differed from those of Agis, Lyfander caused the people to be assembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the public welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them. Particularly, the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and all their posterity, to preserve those sacred institu-

tions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which she had sunk, ever since they had been disregarded by her: He then set forth the miserable condition of the Spartans, those antient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty sovereigns by sea and land, who once could make the Great King * tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their cities and houses, by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence; which might be considered as the completion of all their calamities, as by these means, they were exposed to the insult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded, with intreating them not to be so far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost, but that they would recal to their remembrance those antient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, after a concise discourse, (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter) that he was determined to deliver up, for the common welfare, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable; consisting of large tracts of arable and pasture lands, beside six hundred talents of current money †; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

* This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs.

† Equal to six hundred thousand French crowns.

The magnanimity of their young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy, that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power: For as he knew, that it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the same obligations to him, as they were to his colleague, who, when each of their estates should be appropriated to the public, would engross all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always considered him as such. “Where do you find then, retorted Leonidas, that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to strangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls.” Agis answered, “That he was not surprized that such a person as Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into the house of a Persian grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had swept away all actual and possible debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city. That, with respect to strangers, his precautions were intended against none but those, who could not accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline he had established: That these were the only persons he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their persons, but from a mere apprehension, that their method of life, and corruption of manners, might insensibly inspire the Spartans with the love of luxury and softness, and an immoderate passion for riches.”

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He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and intreated him not to abandon them: they likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices: Upon which Lyfander, who still continued in his employment, immediately determined to proceed against Leonidas, in virtue of an antient law, by which
 “ each descendant from Hercules was prohibited from
 “ espousing any foreign woman; and which made it
 “ death for any Spartan to settle among strangers.”
 Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the same time, to assist in the prosecution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called *Chalcioicos*; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus separated herself from her husband, and became a suppliant for her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear, but as he refused to render obedience in that particular, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lyfander quitted his employment about the close of these transactions, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him, and Mandroclides,

droclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lyfander and Mandroclides, finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs, when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonstrance, entered the assembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their seats, and substituted others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for the releasing the prisoners; in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the sword: But not one person was killed on this occasion, and when Agis even knew, that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated, in his retreat to Tegæa, he ordered him to be safely conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agesilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt: But as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands; whereas if they began, with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts; it would be easy for them to accomplish the partition of lands. The specious turn of this reasoning ensnared Agis,

Agis, and even Lyfander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Agefilaus : In consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the feveral creditors, and carried into the public place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burnt to afhes. As foon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agefilaus cried with an insulting air, *That he had never feen fo fine and clear a fire before.*

The people, immediately after this tranfaction, demanded a diftribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplifhment ; but Agefilaus ftill continued to ftart frefh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair ; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had fent to demand their affiftance againft the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponnefus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already affembled his troops to oppofe the enemy, and had alfo written to the Ephori, who, upon the receipt of his letters, immediately fent Agis to their affiftance. This prince fet out with all poffible expedition, and the foldiers testified an incredible joy, at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumftances of life, who now faw themfelves difcharged from all their debts and free, and alfo in expectation of fharing the lands, at their return from this expedition ; for which reasons they testified the utmoft affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to fee thefe troops pafs through Peloponnesus, without committing the leaft diforder ; and fo quietly, that the found of their march was hardly to be diftinguifhed. The Greeks were entirely furprized, and made the following reflection : *What admirable*

mirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they were commanded by Agesilaus, Lysander, or the antient Leonidas ; as they even discover at this time so much awe and respect for their general, though younger than any soldier in his camp !

Agis joined Aratus, near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviseable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus ; but added at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops ; and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with so much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his disinclination to a battle ; ascribing that to timidity, which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his wise view for the public good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occasion, wherein he observes, that as the husbandman had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more adviseable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them ; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

(*k*) The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction, and in their march seized the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves up and down, without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He then ceased to be the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with those he then had against the enemies; who were become weak even by their victory: he attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it after having lost seven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently suffered into the highest applauses and panegyric.

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he also effectually negotiated an offensive and defensive league, between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

(*l*) Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agesilaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice; when he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in the most public

(*k*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1041.
J. C. 244. Plut. in Agid. p. 802—804.

(*l*) A. M. 3760. Ant.

manner from Tegæa, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated, to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution.

Agefilaus saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved ; and the two kings took sanctuary, Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for assuming the regal power, in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Chelonida stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate, as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of those capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the same time became a suppliant for him with her father.

All those who were then present melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonida, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, *Believe me, O my father, said she, this habit of woe which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and these sorrows into which you see me sunk, are not the effects of that compassion I entertain for Cleombrotus ; but the sad remains of my affliction for the calamities you have sustained, in your flight from Sparta. On what alas ! shall I now resolve ! While you reign for*
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for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced ? Or is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your dagger ? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by your self ; when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him expiring at his feet ; for you are not to think, that in my present condition, I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband ! What indeed shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her nearest relations ! Chelonida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta ; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His solicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own ; and when she had offered up her prayers to the goddesses, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle ; and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love ! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been
sensible,

sensible, that even banishment itself with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to ensnare Agis ; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had lain him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths ; and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple, for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity however was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas ; and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori (of whose number he was one) against Agis. As this prince went sometime from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprize him, and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets through which they

past turned off, in one quarter, to the prison, and as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, *Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour.* At the same instant, Demochares, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed : and as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison ; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the Ephori pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lyfander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures ? To which Agis replied, That he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion ; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, if he repented of that proceeding ? The young prince answered with an air of steadiness, *That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble and glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrors.* His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those, on whom the sentence of condemnation had passed, were usually strangled.

When Demochares saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even
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the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to be assistant at so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who by this time, were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers ; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and intreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have an opportunity to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to hasten the execution of Agis, lest he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, *Weep not for me my friend, for as I am cut off in this manner contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me.* When he had said these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the least air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragic scene, the first object he beheld was the desolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet: He raised her from the earth, and assured her, that Agis had nothing to fear ; intreating her, at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, to enter the prison, and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit: Your request, said he, is reasonable, and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered it. He then com-

manded the executioner to seize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed his fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess was obliged to obey him, and the moment she came into that dismal place, she beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still twisted about her neck. She assisted the executioners in disengaging her parent from that instrument of cruelty, after which she laid the corpse by her son, and decently covered it with linnen. When this pious office was compleated, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, *O my son, said she, the excess of thy humanity and sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!*

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, *Since you knew, said he, and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment.* Agesistrata rose at those words, and running to the fatal cord, *May this, cried she, at least be useful to Sparta.*

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all: So barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign,

sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

(*m*) Agis having been destroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight, but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reside in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a very large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies, in beauty as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion for Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and softness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

(*m*) Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

SECT. IV. *Cleomenes ascends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war against the Achæans, over whom he obtains several advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the antient discipline. Acquires new advantages over Aratus and the Achæans. Aratus applies for succour to Antigonus king of Macedonia, by whose aid the Achæans obtain repeated victories, and take several places from the enemy.*

(n) **C**leomenes had a noble soul, and an ardent passion for glory, joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but had not that excessive sweetness of disposition attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him on to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed so amiable to him as the government of his citizens agreeably to their own inclinations, but, at the same, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to the public utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from the view of private interest.

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himself, who was fond of tranquility, had entirely neglected public affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the public good, every individual being solely intent upon his particular interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public expence. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming their tem-

(n) Plut. in Cleom. p. 305—311.

perance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said, that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself, in a very successful manner, to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citian *. The stoic philosophy which he then professed, was exceedingly proper to infuse courage and noble sentiments in the mind, but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial, by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

(o) After the death of Leonidas, who did not long survive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He then grew solicitous to change the form of government, and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasions of complaint against them.

Aratus, from the first moments of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign

(o) A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

* So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

enemy, and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who had espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident, that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the consideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardors for the war. The Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp raillery from the enemy, whose numbers did not amount to five thousand men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air amongst his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their antient kings, who said, *That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the numbers of their enemies, but where they were.* He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinæa, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes,

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had credit enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestable right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded that the authority of the Ephori, would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counter-balance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus *.

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysicles was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so, as to enter the city when the Ephori were at supper; at which time, a set of persons who had been chosen for that action entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates †, with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agesilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself; after which no other person whatever sustained any violence; and indeed what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of fourscore citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be

* Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. 5. p. 383. & l. 8. p. 511.

† This magistracy was composed of five Ephori.

fixed up in places of public resort: He also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the Ephori, except one where he determined to place himself, in order to render justice; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even in causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice; and menacing those who were desirous of beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent and most divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued rendered it sufficiently evident; that instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he immediately consigned his whole estate to the people as their common property, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recal them as soon affairs could be settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens, with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised four thousand foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His

His next cares were devoted to the education of children ; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconic discipline, wherein the philosopher Spherus was very assistant to him. The exercises and public meals soon resumed their antient order and gravity ; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him ; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house, at one time.

Cleomenes believing that Aratus and the Achæans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, amidst the dissatisfactions occasioned by the novelties he had introduced into the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them see how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis ; where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and shews to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy ; not that he had any real satisfaction in such a conduct, but only intended to convince them by this contemptuous bravado, how much he assured himself of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute proceedings. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those em-

ployments were passed to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with fine and delicate raileries, that were always modest and never rendered offensive by injurious reflexions. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse, as his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects, an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almost without officers: the audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could desire: he made all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly laconic. No music was ever introduced there; nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of discoursing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit
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or glory to attach men to their interest by the attractions of riches, and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought, and sincerity of manners, always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

(*p*) This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardor for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Phæra, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their flat country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harraised them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a compleat victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

(*q*) The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have

(*p*) A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 223.
p. 811. Idem. in Arat. p. 1044.

(*q*) Plat. in Cleom.

been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and when he ought to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expence of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event: jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

(*r*) The Achæans being reduced to the last extremities, and especially after the loss of the first battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negotiate a peace. The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterward dispatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising on that condition to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. The Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on those terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty: The king set out accordingly for that place, but an unexpected accident which happened to him, prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negotiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very dishonourable in him to suffer a young man to graft himself upon him, and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented and retained for so many years. These

(*r*) A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227.

considerations induced him to use all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find himself incapable of conciliating them with this view, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise thought the Lacedæmonians were very reasonable in their intentions to restore Peloponnesus to its antient state, he had recourse to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. His design was to call in the assistance of Antigonus king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence make him master of Greece.

(s) He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was sensible, that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their sentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propose it as from himself, because he knew that if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and beside, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not advise them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themselves sufficient sufferers by the war, as the Achæans were so far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to

(s) Polyb. l. 2, p. 133—140.

his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achæans granted them the permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers of that proposal, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions beforehand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance, which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should have those advantages over the Achæans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves, with their own forces, and should have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove averse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then intreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered

offered him, for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into monarchy. They were sensible that it nearly concerned them to oppose all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themselves in no condition to extinguish these, they attempted to weaken them at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprises, by sowing the seeds of division between republics and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. (t) Polybius, speaking of one of these princes, declares in express terms, that he paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty *.

It cannot therefore be thought surprizing that Antigonus should prove so tractable to the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negotiation, and immediately dispatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to put their interests immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private, for the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not pos-

(t) Lib. 2. p. 131.

* Δημάρχους ἢ αὐτοῖς (μενέρχοις) δίδωσι χορηγίας τῇ πολιτείας.

fessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished indeed to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was willing to guard against the imputation of those measures, and for having them seem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the voluntary goodness of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable for the republic to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved, and it was concluded, that the Achæans should employ only their own forces in supporting the present war.

(11) The events of it were however very unfavourable to them; for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities * of Peloponnesus, of which Argos was the most considerable, and at last seized Corinth, but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer

(11) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047. A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

* Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phelente, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Træzene.

time for deliberation ; Antigonus was called in to their assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition ; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which suited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous situation between two seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus among the other hostages. That prince advanced by long marches with an army of twenty thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus set out by sea with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy ; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the passage of the Isthmus, thought it more adviseable to throw up trenches, and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains *, and to harass the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with such well disciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great extremities, for he had not provided himself with any considerable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes : The only expedient therefore to which Antigonus could have recourse in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to transport his army by sea to Sicyon, which would require a considerable space of time, as well as great preparations, which could not easily be made.

(x) While Antigonus was embarrassed in this man-

(x) A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

* These was a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to

Attica, as far as Bœotia, and mount Citheron. Strab. l. 8.

ner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night by sea, and informed him that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having likewise received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, set out by sea and arrived at Epidaurus.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones with two thousand men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus, and to animate the Corinthians, assured them that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a slight commotion excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this however he was deceived, for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been sent from those troops to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he therefore thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, soon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place and secured it to himself with a good garrison. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos, before the revolted had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During

During the continuance of his march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such were his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could presume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand, and though he frequently went to visit her with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause; for mothers have usually a great share of penetration, with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her; *How, my son, said she with a smile, is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction!*

When

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Crateficlea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her son apart, a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his anguish at that melancholy parting ; *King of Lacedæmon*, said she, *let us dry our tears, that no person, when we quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our power ; events are in the hands of God.* When she had expressed herself to this effect, she composed her countenance ; led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived at Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince ; and she had likewise intelligence, that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war, without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she sent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an antient woman and a little infant might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

(y) Antigonus, in the mean time having made

(y) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. 2. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815—817. Id. in Arato. p. 1048.

himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five minæ (about ten pounds sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised five hundred talents, (about one hundred twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) and armed two thousand of these Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonius, he then formed an enterprize, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprizing this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonius had sent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed, that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor their guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and consequently that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonius, who was then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonius was not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce

nounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopoemen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name, the times of which we now treat, may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was lost in the splendor of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to his own city. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people were soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending an embassy without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions and pay for the

the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They had abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games in honour of Antigonus ; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprized the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself ; and all the intreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety ; but he was no longer master of affairs, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus also took the city of Mantinea, and when he had most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new inhabited city * by the name of him who had shewn himself its most cruel enemy. A sad, and at the same time, a salutary example, which shews that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republic with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which, no great quality nor any shining action can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his

* Antigonis,

arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that, with a view to compleat the welfare of their cities, and secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title? If therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta, have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus, so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta, descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the antient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles, that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians, whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious masters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, and placed himself at the head of a procession crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering

by these low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was however a man of great merit in other respects, and had shewn himself to be an extraordinary person, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty, which amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, could not form the plan of a virtue exempt from blame.

(z) We have already observed, that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprize which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly; but according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waste. He conceived at the same time, that if Antigonus should be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the

(z) Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. 2. p. 149.

palace gate, and with a murmuring tone pressed the king either to give their enemies battle, or resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station, did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly, and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word, they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city, to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king ; and especially when they considered that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of soul. A misfortune however unhappily prevented from reinstating Sparta in her antient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECT. V. *The celebrated battle of Selasia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes, who retires into Egypt. Antigonus makes himself master of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius. The death of Ptolemy Evergetes, to whose throne Ptolemy Philopator succeeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generosity of these princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the losses the Rhodians had sustained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Colossus.*

(a) **T**HE Macedonians and Achæans having quit-
ted their quarters in the summer season, An-
tigonus put himself at the head of them, and ad-
vanced into Laconia. His army was composed of
twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse ;
but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than
twenty thousand men. As the latter of these two
princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had
fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his
troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments,
and cutting down trees, after which he formed his
camp at Selasia. He imagined, and with good reason
too, that the enemies would endeavour to force a pas-
sage into that country through this avenue, in which
he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two
mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and
the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran
between them, on the banks of which was the road
to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good in-
trenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his
brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head
of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus, with
the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops,

(a) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. 2. p. 150—154.
Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Id. in Philop. p. 358.

placing at the same time along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry, and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardor for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and found the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspense how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and the situation of each army equally secured them from insults. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one third, but were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose

suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions alternately disposed, against those of the enemy, posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these, two thousand Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by a thousand of the Achæan foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians, and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line; and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the remotest cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher situation, at the same time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who assaulted them with the utmost impetuosity. Philopœmen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given. Philopœmen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this

was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as a chimæra. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpose by that usage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts; the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He might easily have attacked those troops as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harrassed them on every side: the inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he might also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner, as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself, that victory would infallibly attend his arms: He imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity: but as he had not reserved for his own forces a sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged them to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought on foot, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign soldiers, of whom each of them had about five thousand. As this action was performed in the sight of each sovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in signaling themselves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry losing ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him
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from all quarters; and therefore thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedæmonians escaped out of six thousand.

It may justly be said, that Antigonus derived his success, in some measure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His bold resolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with so few forces as those of his own troop, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a single moment, might occasion

occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner. *That young man, said Antigonus, in seizing the occasion, behaved like a great general, but you the general like a young man.*

Sparta on this disaster shewed that antient steadiness and intrepidity which seemed to have something of savage, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No married woman was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband: The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they tended them with peculiar care, and supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus, assuring them at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty; nor sit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was, with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm,

arm, and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures in his power to take, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate by that action, those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia, for the liberty of Sparta. *You are deceived*, cried Cleomenes, *if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause : Say rather that such an action is mean and pusillanimous : The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the evasion of an action, ought to be an action itself **. Since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath ; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should be then our inclination.

(b) Cleomenes had scarce set sail, before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror, and declared to them, that

(b) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb. l. 2. p. 155. Justin. l. 28. c. 4.

* The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless or inactive, with respect to

the public ; but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 57.

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he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had saved that city, by abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the antient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow, and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinflating his city in her antient splendor, and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those antient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprizes of Cleomenes were the last struggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a consumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He however would not suffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was said that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, *O the glorious happy battle!* And that he

he uttered this exclamation with so much ardor, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood ; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever which ended his days. Some time before his death he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age ; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the scepter, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shewn in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for his neglect of so great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. (c) The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with such a fleet and a supply of money, as with his other good offices should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents (about twenty thousand pounds sterling) with which he supported himself and his friends, with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who

(c) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.

retired into Egypt from Greece. (d) Ptolemy however died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conspicuous; (e) for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness. The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal * care to extend his dominions to the South, from concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red-sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the Straits †, which form a communication with the southern ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator.

(f) Some time before this period, Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake: The walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the narrow passes in the haven, where the ships of that island were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake spared neither private houses nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above a hundred talents, and erected two statues in the

(d) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. (e) Strab. l. 17. p. 796.

(f) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. p. 5. p. 428, 431.

* Monum. Adult.

† Straits of Babelmandel.

public place; one of which represented the people of Rhodes; and the other those of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, beside his other expences, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents; a million of bushels of corn, and a sufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beside an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded that a lady whose name was Chryseis*, and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance an hundred thousand bushels of corn. Let the princes of these times, says Polybius, who imagine they have done gloriously in giving four or five thousand crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to that we have now described. Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of a prodigious size, as I have formerly observed; and some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. (g) This people, instead of employing the sums they had received, in replacing that statue according to the

(g) Strab. l. 14. p. 652.

* *Chryseis* signifies golden.

intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground, for the space of eight hundred ninety-four years; at the expiration of which (that is to say, in the six hundred and fifty-third year of our Lord) Moawias *, the sixth Caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the statue had sustained by rust and very probably by theft, amounted to more than thirty-six thousand pounds sterling, or seven thousand two hundred quintals.

* Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. & Cedrenus.

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OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
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AND
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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF

Alexander's Successors.

CONTAINING

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BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

SEQUEL of the

HISTORY

OF

Alexander's Successors.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article includes the history of twenty-seven years, during which Ptolemy Philopator reigned.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Philopator reigns in Egypt. The short reign of Seleucus Ceraunus. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed the GREAT. Achæus's fidelity to him. Hermias, his chief minister, first removes Epigenes the ablest of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death. Antiochus subdues the rebels in the east. He rids himself of Hermias. He attempts to recover Cœlosyria from Ptolemy Philopator, and possesses himself of the strongest cities in it. After a short truce, a war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus is entirely defeated. The anger and revenge of Philopator against the Jews, for refusing to let him enter the sanctuary. Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy. He turns his arms against Achæus, who had rebelled. He at last seizes him treacherously, and puts him to death.*

(a) **I** Observed in the preceding book, that Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy Evergetes his father in Egypt. On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ (Ceraunus) or the *Thunder*, which no way suited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea of that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus his cousin, son to Andromachus his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus; and kept prisoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and part of the following.

(b) Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont; Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition; and did him all the good services the ill state of his affairs would admit.

(c) Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ring-leaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and va-

(a) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. 4. p. 315. & l. 5. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. 19. c. 1. (b) A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224. (c) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

lour with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience ; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia minor, had sent him into Babylonia *, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

(d) As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the east ; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person ; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus.

(d) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. 5. p. 386.

* To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the east, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

Alexander and Molo despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him made crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

(e) News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be adviseable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Cœlosyria, to check the enterprizes of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose: that it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person into the east, in order to take advantage of the most favourable times and occasions for acting against the rebels: that when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in sight of the prince, and of an army; or, in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was,

(e) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Polyb. l. 5. p. 386—395.

not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; upon which the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Cœlosyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the east, viz. that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprize against Cœlosyria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring in an emphatic, sententious manner, *That it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels.* Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce again in Hermias's opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive, how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master; inventive

and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, he had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of affairs, so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them ; nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion, (not from conviction but weakness and indolence) he contented himself with sending a general, and a body of troops into the east ; and himself resumed the expedition of Cœlosyria.

(*f*) The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment, which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tygris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, was advanced into Cœlosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding

it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the east, hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying in a modest tone, that it would have been most adviseable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done; added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprize of Coelosyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without instancing a levity and inconstancy, entirely inconsistent with the glory of a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame; and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than any body for hastening its execution. Accordingly the troops set out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had scarce set out, when a sedition arose in the army, on account of the soldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the same time, earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the

war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening Antiochus's esteem and affection for Epigenes by absence ; well knowing, that princes soon forget the virtue and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in so important an expedition. But, * as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and in a manner possess him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended views of œconomy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the most abandoned complacency and adulation ; that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required ; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprized and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate : but the soldiers having received all their arrears, were very easy ; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance ; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return, to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion ; and indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful

* Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημμένος οἰκονομίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ θεραπειαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμείου κακοηθείας, οὐκ ἦν αὐ-

τῷ κύριος. Circumventus & præoccupatus œconomiis, & custodiis, & obsequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, sui non erat dominus. *This is a literal translation.*

minister, the sole dispenser of his master's graces ! Hermias orders this man to dispatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domestics ; and by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king ; and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after, Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo. Epigenes, surprized at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at the same time the highest indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly, a search being made, the forged letter was found : and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. However, the courtiers thought otherwise ; but fear kept them all tongue-tied, and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied are princes !

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces ; and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next spring, he in the mean time sent them into winter quarters in the neighbourhood.

(g) Upon the return of the season he marched them towards the Tigris, passed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement ; and gained so compleat a victory over him, that the rebel seeing all lost, laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neclas, another of their brothers, who escaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate,

(g) A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children; and at last dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A just reward for all those who dare to take up arms against their sovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia over the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the orders necessary for re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former foot.

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated to the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepit old man, who being greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

(b) News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a son, which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might dispatch Antiochus; in hopes that after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of a prime minister had rendered insupportable. Their complaints did not

(b) A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. 5. p. 399—401.

reach the throne, whose avenues were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty, all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, whose dependant he had made himself; and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his disposition, who, at first, was well pleased with discharging the burden of affairs on Hermias.

Apollophanes his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects; and the danger to which himself was exposed by the ill conduct of his prime minister. He therefore advised Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia; who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied: That it was plain Hermias was hatching some ill design; and that, to prevent it, not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

This

This prince, as was already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but did not reveal his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice ; and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to some small distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company ; here taking him to walk in a solitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused an universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great cruelty and violence ; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, was sure to fall a victim to his resentments. Accordingly, he was universally hated ; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place : for the instant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

(i) Antiochus, having so happily re-established his affairs in the east, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution, for re-establishing entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria : one was against Ptolemy, to recover Cœlosyria ; and the other against Achæus, who had usurped the sovereignty of Asia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having seized upon all Cœlosyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was

(i) Polyb. l. 5. p. 401.

before

before related ; the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus ; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus, the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of such as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was spread, that he intended to usurp the crown ; and with that view held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it advisable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies ; and therefore, taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and all princes solicited very earnestly his alliance. (k) This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the straits ; a tribute, which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them ; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus

(k) Polyb. l. 4. p. 314—319.

had married, was actually prisoner in Alexandria. These sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was also very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war; readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon the antient foot, and take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

(1) It was against this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms. These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and were the subject of the deliberations of his council, to consider which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms; and accordingly all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœlosyria.

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollophanes the king's physician represented to him, that it would be a great oversight, should they march into Cœlosyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it; for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to support the rights of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among

(1) A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. 5. p. 402—409.

many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade ; for Seleucia being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Coelosyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before ; nevertheless, the court of Egypt had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king expected greater things from his valour ; and were persuaded, that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct ; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. Indeed, after his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundless injury they had done him ; and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, heightened his indignation and resentment. It was intolerable to him, to depend on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopator plunged himself during his whole reign ; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by antiphrasis, surnamed

firmnamed * *Philopator*. He publickly caused Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel, or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures; and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime minister was Sosibes, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as *Philopator*; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatsoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately dispatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, however would not desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of mount Libanus to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side: howe-

* *This word signifies, a lover of his father.*

ver, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water by opening the dikes of the Nile ; and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cœlosyria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him ; (*m*) and at last he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy ; and this served him as an honourable pretence, for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

(*n*) During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it in order to making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war ; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia minor, of which he was already master ; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's em-

(*m*) Polyæn. l. 4. c. 15.

(*n*) Polyb. l. 5. p. 409—415.

pire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alledging, that it was a shameful and unheard-of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

(o) During these contests, in which neither side would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed; and nothing being concluded, it became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus the Ætolian had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which occasioned the war. Perigenes the admiral put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was obliged to pass; firmly resolved to wait for him there, and to stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he was master of gave him.

In the mean time, Antiochus was not unactive, but prepared all things both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land-forces. The fleets coasted the armies on both

fides ; so that their naval as well as land-forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage, so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea neither party had the superiority ; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after losing four thousand of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet ; and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with the design of besieging them in it. He nevertheless found that conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of provisions, and other necessaries ; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He therefore sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having subjected it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him ; and he gave them five thousand men to keep it in subjection. He marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

(p) The campaign was again opened in spring. Ptolemy caused seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and sixty three elephants to advance towards Pelusium. He was at the head of these forces, and marched them through the desarts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was

(p) A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. 5. p. 241—428.

something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of seventy two thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants. He first incamped within * ten furlongs, and soon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another, they were perpetually skirmishing, either when they went to fetch fresh water, or in foraging ; particulars also distinguishing themselves upon these occasions.

Theodotus the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptians, favoured by the darkness of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian ; so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war ; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons ; and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

But at last the two kings resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle ; but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was ; Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defended the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit ; Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's center in flank, which was then uncovered ; and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the center was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But tho' he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault ; and found the rest of his army

* *Half a French league.*

broke and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand men killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to continue the campaign against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests ; and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the consul on the banks of the lake Trasymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Coelosyria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities, (and from Judæa among the rest) to pay homage to, and offer him presents ; and all met with a gracious reception.

(q) Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces, and, among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. He saw the * temple there ; and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel, making at the same time oblations, and bestowing considerable gifts. However, not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go ; he was determined to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the holy of holies, to which no one was allowed access but the high priest ; and that but once every year, on the day of the great expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high priest informed him of the holiness of the place ; and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter

(q) Maccab. l. 3. c. 1.

* The third book of Maccabees, whence this story is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of scripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of

time, to the two first. Dr. Prideaux, speaking of the third book, says, that the ground-work of the story is true, though the author changed some circumstances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.

it.

it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now, all places echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed ; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands, to implore heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced in as far as the second court ; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word ; and the following year raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force, to worship false deities.

(r) The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived in Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people ; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessened since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progress he made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be safest for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy ; to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full powers, to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, *i. e.* Cœlosyria and Palest-

(r) Polyb. l. 5. p. 428. Justin. l. 30. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

time. Cœlosyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine, all the country which antiently was the inheritance of the children of Israel: and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at this juncture; chusing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing them all. A truce was therefore agreed for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the same terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory, for conquering all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time, they were displeased at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this account, was the chief source of the disorders in Egypt, which at last rose to an open rebellion: so that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in the center of his own dominions.

(s) Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking the field. At last he passed mount Taurus, and entered Asia Minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against their common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made sallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At

(s) A. M. 3788, Ant. J. C. 216. Polyb. l. 5. p. 444.

last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus' commanders, Sardis was taken. Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself, till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb which said, that *th*
** Cretans were liars and knaves.*

(*t*) Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very sorry for his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Sofibes to relieve him at any price whatsoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sofibes consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think of some method for Achæus's escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sofibes, offered to undertake it and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's service: that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten † talents were given him to defray his expences, &c. and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agree, (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well; that instead of procuring Achæus's escape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

(*t*) Polyb. l. 8. p. 522—531.

* Κρητες ἀεὶ ψευδαί, καὶ ἀδελφάρη. S. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12.

† Ten thousand french crowns.

(u) Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's assistance, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sofibes and some other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of Achæus's death, they surrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of such traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself worthy of it, by his infidelity to his sovereign.

(x) It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopator began to break out. According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

(y) We also read in Livy, that the Romans some time after sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, (doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoë) to renew their antient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried as a present to the king, a robe and purple tunic, with an ivory * chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents show the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.

(u) A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.
p. 444.
Liv. l. 27. c. 4.

(x) Polyb. l. 5.

(y) A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210.

* This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.

(z) Philopator had at this time by † Arfinoe, his wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who succeeded him at five years of age.

(a) Philopator, from the signal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and playing upon instruments. The * women disposed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself. Sosibes, an old, artful minister, who had served during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the most unjust commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

(b) Arfinoe, the king's sister and wife, had no

(z) A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Justin. l. 30. c. 4. (a) A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Justin. l. 30. c. 1 & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. l. 15, 16. (b) Liv. l. 27. c. 4.

† Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arfinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As archbishop Usher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inserted it there in the first edition of this work. But as Josephus, from

whom it is taken, says, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus the son of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as dean Prideaux does also, that is to say, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometer, 187 years before Jesus Christ.

* Tribunatus, præfecturas, & ducatus mulieres ordinabant; ne quisquam in regno suo minùs, quàm ipse rex, poterat. Justin.

power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime minister did not show her the least respect. On the other side, the queen was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring; and they at last grew weary of her complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the chusing a prime minister. Sosibes resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualities necessary for supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessor. As he had the administration of all the finances, and disposed of all the honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal, but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment; and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, gave into luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to all the world.

The wars of the east have made me suspend the re-

lation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance : we now return to them.

SECT. II. *The Ætolians declare against the Achæans. Battle of Caphyia lost by Aratus. The Achæans address Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republic joins with the Ætolians.*

(b) THE Ætolians, particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the strait of the gulph of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, surnamed Ozolæ. But in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they exercised themselves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece; and showed themselves zealous defenders of the public liberty against the Macedonians. The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infest Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or (c) Justin his epitomizer, the highest contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a shameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by frâtricide, and formed by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of

(b) Strab. l. 10. p. 450. Polyb. 331. & 746. Pausan. l. 10. p. 650.
(c) Justin. l. 28. c. 2.

their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his son had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would not do well, to rouse the Ætolians against them; a people, whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

(*d*) From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece; the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the same foot, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expence, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip, because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians. (*e*) Accordingly, having assembled the Achæans, whose vigour and strength had suffered

(*d*) Polyb. l. 4. p. 272—292. Plat. in Arat. p. 1049.

(*e*) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

by repose and inactivity; he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Arratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared that, however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and intreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occasion, changed the minds of the whole assembly, whose fury now turned against his accusers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counsel. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; so that he behaved as a wise citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, intreated Philip to keep well with Aratus; and to follow his counsel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus, to form himself under his eye, and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to instil into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern with wisdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of Aratus's known probity, in order to have
the

the sole ascendant over their young prince, made that monarch suspect his conduct ; and prevailed so far, as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Nevertheless, finding soon after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity, the sole means to banish for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only ; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. (f) That unhappy city was perpetually torn by seditions, in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tegea, whither he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion, that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king, who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired ; and every one was persuaded, that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the same use of them.

(g) Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities against the Ætolians ; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war ; and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raised, and

(f) Polyb. p. 292—294.

(g) Polyb. l. 4. p. 294—299.

the havock they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilst they were in winter quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; colouring their delays with false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to intreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

(*b*) Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheless Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes: for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery; he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were consulted. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burthen of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time: but Ptolemy's fears and suspicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occasioned them.

(*i*) After this he thought himself secure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successors but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he despised on account of their minority. In this security he devoted himself entirely to all sorts of pleasures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in

(*b*) A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Plut. in Cleom. p. 820—823.

(*i*) Polyb. l. 5. p. 380—385.

the state, dared to approach him ; and he would scarce deign to bestow the least attention to what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Cœlosyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the ports and harbours which lie along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lyfimachia, were subject to them ; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilst they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance ? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble ; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of Antigonus's death ; that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians ; that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recall him to his native country ; he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war sufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family ; and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleasures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's intreaties.

Sofibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends ; and in this council a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They believed that a needless expence ; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council were apprehensive that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt : what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his having the king in the utmost contempt ; and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other succours he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprizing a prince leave to depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Sofibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, that prime minister was afraid lest this prince should prevail with the foreign soldiers to make an insurrection : *I answer for them*, says Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus ; *and you may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they all will take up arms in your favour.* This made Sofibes hesitate no longer : on a fictitious accusation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person ; and to imprison him in a secure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

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This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed such a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, as despair only could suggest ; and this was, to return the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms ; to stir up his subjects against him ; to die a death worthy of Sparta ; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets ; exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty ; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them ; and afterwards ran to the citadel, with intention to force the gates of it, and set all the prisoners at liberty ; but they found these shut and strongly barricaded. Cleomenes, now lost to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him ; but all fled through fear. But seeing it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them ; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself ; after which she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words : *Ah ! my dear children, to what a place did you come ?*

The design of Agis and Cleomenes, to reform Sparta and revive its antient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself : and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted as that of
Sparta

Sparta then was ; to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra ; and therefore, that it would be absolutely necessary to root up the evil at one blow. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim * should not take place here, *viz.* that nothing should be attempted in a state, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means, and that violence should never be employed. Are there not some diseases in which medicines would only hasten death ? And have not † some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state, that to attempt a reformation at such a time, would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws ? But, a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the Ephori, in order to get success to his enterprize ; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king : and which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards made such wild havock in Lacedæmonia. And indeed, Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, with whom they even began || the succession of tyrants.

(*k*) During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained, that he would return again ; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agefipolis, a

(*k*) Polyb. l. 4. p. 301.

* Jubet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, 'Tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis possis : vim neque parenti neque patrie asserere oportere.' *Cic. l. 1. Epist. 9. ad Famil.*

† Decebat omittere potius præ-

valida & adulta vitia, quàm hos adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. *Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 53.*

|| Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmone fuit. *Liv. l. 34. n. 26.*

child,

child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a * talent, which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which opposed Philip openly, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election ; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECT. III. *Various expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans. Apelles his prime minister abuses his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the first assault. Excesses of Philip's soldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Punishment of those who had occasioned them. Inroad of Philip into Laconia. The conspirators form new cabals. Punishment inflicted on them. A peace is proposed between Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which at last is concluded.*

(1) **W**E have already related, that Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth where their general assembly was held ; and that there, war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broke their engagements with him, by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had made

(1) A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Polyb. l. 4. p. 294—306.

* *A thousand crowns.*

at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

(*n*) Demetrius of Pharos joined also with Philip. We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the spoils they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had failed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty, concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, besieged him in Pharos, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. (*o*) Demetrius, being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However Philip, who revolved at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprizes; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though at their great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

(*n*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 171—174. Lib. 4. p. 285—305—330.

(*o*) Liv. l. 22. n. 33.

The people of Epirus did not show so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neuter: nevertheless, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy, to desire him not to assist the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first begun, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, *viz.* of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans: but the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before, that Agesipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the same over the Ætolians.

(*p*) Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Having crossed Thessaly he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the request of the Epirots, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia; made dreadful havock, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils, which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians * intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he

(*p*) Polyb. l. 4. p. 325—330.

* These people were neighbours of Macedonia on the north of that kingdom.

promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardanians, and put a stop to their enterprise. He then returned to Thessaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Larissa.

(*q*) In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Larissa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thousand natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except an hundred were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces, at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Psophis * in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt ; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion that no one would, or even could, attack them : Philip however did it with success ; for first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered after making some resistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was of the most signal service ; assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to

(*q*) Polyb. p. 330—336.

* *A city of Arcadia.*

oblige them ; and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted sacred, on account of the Olympic games solemnized there every four years ; and all the nations of Greece had agreed to infest or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the occasion of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

(*q*) Among the several courtiers of king Philip, Appelles held the chief rank, and had a great ascendant over his sovereign, whose governor he had been : but, as generally happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing particular persons and states. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the same condition in which Thessaly was at that time ; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name, and a vain shadow of liberty : and to accustom them to the yoke, he spared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated upon that account ; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of that kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Appelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderness towards a statesman, who having so shamefully abused his master's confidence, had therefore deserved

(*q*) Polyb. p. 338, 339.

to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip showed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest encomiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And indeed, he possessed all those which can endear a king to his people ; such as a lively genius, an happy memory, easy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions ; a beautiful aspect, heightened by a noble and majestic air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect ; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please universally ; to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years : So that one can hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

(*r*) Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera, a very strong city, the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquest, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus, he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.

(*s*) At this time, Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's house, intending to kill him ; but hearing the tumult, he had made his escape. Chilo then went into the great square of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty ; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprizing to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of its liberty, and

(*r*) Polyb. p. 339—343.

(*s*) Idem, p. 343, 344.

mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not so much as suffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and especially their introducing gold and silver into Sparta; which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.

(*t*) Philip being arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated, of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possible, to get rid of him; for this purpose he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his discourses with him, he hinted, that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much subject to their laws and usages, as the meanest of their citizens; whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs, some person who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as sovereign; and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotic power pleased the young king; and indeed it is the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of

(*t*) Polyb. l. 4. p. 344—349.

Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive that he degraded himself in the most ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free assemblies, such as those of Greece, than to make the least attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.

A person being chosen entirely unworthy of the post, as is commonly the case in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miscarriages, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence; and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily; he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs, on one side of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal to his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: that he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing (as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do) to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: and
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on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations, in presence of the man whom he charged with them: and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge. That a justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus's demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: But how would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dyma, whither Philip was come to settle some affairs. Aratus snatched the opportunity; and begged the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's request, and found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any punishment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; so that
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he continued his secret intrigues, in order to remove those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals which are almost inseparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the two other, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendant over them; the former of the two last presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and the second had the command of the guards. Now the prime minister wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them: for, says Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themselves into all shapes, and employ either praise or slander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and speak of him as a man, worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: He did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus (a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he represented him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected; in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will show hereafter, what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him

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commit the blackest and most abominable injustice in the person of Aratus, and even extend his criminal designs, to the king himself.

(u) I before observed, that Philip having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counsels he went to the assembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent necessity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was made to furnish him with fifty * talents, the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months pay for his soldiers, and ten thousand measures of wheat: and, that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen † talents a month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilst the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his credit diminish, and was exasperated to see the counsels of Aratus followed, and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign; and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister, who was best acquainted with, and then actually in the administration of them. How villanous

(u) Polyb. l. 5. p. 350—365.

* Fifty thousand crowns.

† Seventeen thousand crowns.

was this ! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidents, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be intrusted. As for himself, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having some affairs to transact there ; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopt the convoys of money which were sending to the king ; and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to subsist himself and his household.

Philip having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patræ ; and sailing from thence to * Cephalenia, laid siege to Paleis, a city whose situation would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms ; and enable him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to these, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired ; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken : but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed ; lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprize. Deputies had arrived soon from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented,

* *An island in the Ionian sea.*

that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent, and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops : declaring, that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance ; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion ; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis began to suspect Leontius, went thither also.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnæa ; and marching about sixty furlongs he halted, to give his army some refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath, but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifestly traiterous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and march out that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, sets out that instant, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road cut between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great must be their surprize, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and making a heap of the rest, at the head of the camp, they set fire to that pile. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand, were burnt to ashes. Hitherto every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least two thousand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broke to pieces; and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods. They wrote the following verse on the walls.

Remember

Remember Diium ; Diium sends you this.

Doubtless, the horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Diium inspired Philip, and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes ; and that they were then making just reprisals. However, says Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwise. To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta ; so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even make those he had conquered feel the effects of it ; on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendor, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence ; restoring their prisoners without ransom ; himself taking care even of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving cloaths to such of the prisoners as were most in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he razed to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers, (even through imprudence) to do the least injury to the temples, and other sacred places : and a circumstance still more worthy our admiration ; in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burnt most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and revered all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had strove to show himself their successor more in mode-

ration and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish cities and citadels ; to fill up harbours, to take men and ships, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy and increase his own. But to destroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy ; to burn temples, to break statues and such ornaments of a city in pieces ; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable ; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge, and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to save both. These are the sentiments of a soldier and an heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, shewed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view, in putting to sea, was to go and surprize the city of Thermæ, during the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack ; and which prevented their seizing some passes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been stopt short. Some rivers were to be passed : It was necessary for them to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia, by a swift counter-march. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the straits without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ as if he had dropped from the skies ; so well he had concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To secure it, he had seized upon several important posts ; expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times ; however, the prudent precautions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprize so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and dispatch, surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip ; and seems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarce doubt, (and Polybius seems to insinuate it evidently enough) but that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem ; in forming extraordinary enterprizes, and in giving success to them by his bold counsels, than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character ; prudent, able, versed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war ; to be able to know the merit of these qualities ; to be perfectly sensible of their high value ; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion, and to let himself be guided by such wise counsels. After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it vanishes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. (x) Plutarch, who advances what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to suffer himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, he offered sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving, for the success they had given to his arms ; and made a splendid banquet

(x) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they discovered their animosity against Aratus by the most injurious and most shocking raileries. But words were not all; for, at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact enquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty * talents on Mageleas, he afterwards threw him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of soldiers to the king's tent; persuaded that he would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold, says he, as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw him into prison? It is I,* answered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after, he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

(y) During Philip's expedition against Ætolia, Lycurgus the Spartan king had engaged in an enterprize against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Paleis in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception.

(y) Polyb. l. 5. p. 365—372.

* *Twenty thousand crowns.*

He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to hasten thither, to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition he arrived too late ; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions passed, in which Philip had always the advantage ; but I shall omit the particulars to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and prudence far above his years ; and this expedition was almost as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole country, and taking abundance of spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found ambassadors of Rhodes and Chio, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, dissembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wished, and still did so, to be at peace with the Ætolians ; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to dispose their masters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprise.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandestine methods possible, to remove and destroy all those who either opposed, or were suspected by them ; and seeing with grief, that those secret practices had not been as suc-

cessful as they had flattered themselves ; they therefore resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their interest. The greatest part of their army had staid in Corinth : and they imagined, that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the sake of the public welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest toils and dangers of war ; that nevertheless justice had not been done them, nor the antient law relating to the distribution of plunder been observed with regard to them. The young people, fired by these seditious discourses, divide themselves into bands, plunder the houses of the greatest courtiers ; and carry their fury to that excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then assembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and severity, he makes them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection ; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that was past.

The king was still young ; so that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those against him enjoyed the greatest posts in the kingdom, had governed it during his minority ; had filled all employments with their creatures ; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state ; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole administration among themselves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he
did

did not think it adviseable to come to an open rupture, lest he should inflame the minds of the people, by employing chastisements at an unseasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentments, pretending to be very well satisfied ; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this insurrection, it was not so easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected.

Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, disposed all things in the most despotic manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. It is certain that he arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourse to him only. In all the cities of Greece scarce the least mention was made of the king : for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, or honours or preferments to be bestowed, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprized of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude: but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed in regard to him ; but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendor, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate, (having been instructed before) stopt him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception which he no ways expected, he considered for some time how he ought to behave; and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. * Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to follow him, vanished in an instant; and he arrived at his own house followed only by his domestics. A lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to shew their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value: as princes please to extend or withdraw their favours, to day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery, and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplices pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to despair; whether he did not think his power strong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner, or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; still allowed him the honour

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixæ. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 13. c. 19.

of his conversation sometimes, and left him some other honours of that kind ; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those he used to invite to supper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house ; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon some extraordinary occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison ; the pretended reason of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas ; but in reality to secure his person, and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leonatus sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence : that if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt and the highest injury, (such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king ;) but that in case Leontius was imprisoned but for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that sum among them. This testimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and hasten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambassadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a thirty days truce. These assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out immediately from Le-
chæum,

chæum, in order to assist at it, and arrived there after two days sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions, to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; however he did not stay for his trial, but laid violent hands on himself. A little after, Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor, had on one side inspired the young prince (as it naturally should) with sentiments of regard, esteem, respect and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want wit, judgment or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the same time was blind to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppressions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this

made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

(2) In the mean time, the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprizes. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently, than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He afterwards set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country: then coasting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchreæ to * Demetrias, where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him, in an assembly of Macedonians.

All these incidents happened, at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Coelosyria, had sent his troops into winter-quarters. It was also then that Lycurgus, king of La-

(2) Polyb. l. 5. p. 376, 377.

* *A city of maritime Thessaly.*

cedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans, no body obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havock was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the spring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

(a) Philip, to his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardnians.

(b) After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrius, Pharfalia, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last, the besieged, fearing they

(a) Polyb. l. 5. p. 435.

(b) A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217.

should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest, Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambassadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired ; and that they had only to enquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. Whilst he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king showed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards ; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause : that the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example. That if he was desirous of the sovereignty of the world, a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself, he must begin by conquering Italy : that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprizing ; and who besides was sprung from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

Never-

Nevertheless, as he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner, as to discover only such of them as promoted his interest, (a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince) he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negotiate a peace: and at the earnest instances of the Ætolians, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city at the head of his troops. All parties were so weary of the war, that there was no occasion for long conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Ætolians, by the ambassadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests. The rest of the articles were soon agreed upon; so that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their respective countries. This peace concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle lost by the Romans near the lake Thrasymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia; all these events happened in the (c) third year of the 140th Olympiad.

In the first separate conference held in presence of the king and the ambassadors of the confederate powers; Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deserve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his history. He says it were to be wished, that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; that it would be a great blessing from the gods, if breathing only the same sentiments, they should all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force, to secure themselves from the insults of the Barbarians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in the present juncture, they ought to unite together, and consult for the preservation of all Greece. That, to be sensible of the necessity of such an union, they need

(c) A. M. 3787.

but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful states actually engaged in war. That it was evident to every one who was ever so little versed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy and Sicily ; but would doubtless extend their projects much farther. That all the Greeks in general, and especially Philip, ought to keep a strict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened. That this prince would have nothing to fear, if, instead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an easier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he should labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himself as vigorously in the defence of all Greece, as if it was his own kingdom. That by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprizes ; and, by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom. That if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprize ; he need but turn his arms towards the west ; and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy. That, provided he would only put himself into a condition for seizing successfully the first opportunity that should present itself ; all things would smoothe the way for the universal empire. That, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season. That, he ought especially to be careful, to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper. That, in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece ; it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient.

Nothing

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiatics and the inhabitants of the islands did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprizing genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the sequel of this history is upon the point of shewing us.

SECT. IV. *Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a considerable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He causes Aratus to be poisoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians accede to it. Machanidas usurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman Prætor, in one of which Philopœmen signalizes himself.*

(d) THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip king of Macedon ima-

(d) Liv. l. 23. n. 33, 34, & 38.

gined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatic sea, now called the gulph of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and Carthaginians at war ; but, the success of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of those powers it would be his interest to join. (e) But after Hannibal had gained three victories successively, all his doubts were removed. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute tone of voice ; that he had been dispatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans ; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them a convoy for their safety. Being arrived in Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows :
“ That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet
“ of two hundred sail, and lay waste the sea coasts ;
“ and should assist the Carthaginians both by sea and
“ land. That the latter, at the conclusion of the
“ war, should possess all Italy and Rome ; and that
“ Hannibal should have all the spoils. That after the
“ conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece,
“ and there make war against any power the king
“ should nominate ; and that both the cities of the
“ continent and the islands lying towards Macedonia,
“ should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his

(e) A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216.

“dominion.” Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip, for his ratification of it; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by (*f*) Polybius, express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty; and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes’s lie would not do him the same service as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked so vigorously by Hannibal) then were; and their discovering a new enemy, so very powerful as Philip, must necessarily alarm them prodigiously. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the measures necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprize that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

(*g*) Philip was now wholly employed on his great design, of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprize; not so much out of zeal for the interest of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories,

(*f*) Polyb. l. 7. p. 502—507.
445—447.

(*g*) Polyb. l. 5. p. 439 &

which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night ; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans ; and he would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterprizes. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him, which increased daily.

(*b*) During the winter season, he thought of manning a fleet ; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do ; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition ; and by that means surprize the enemies when they should least expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build an hundred, or an hundred and twenty vessels for him ; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in the naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situate on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundisium, having advice of it, set sail immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing ; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a by-way ; and entered the city in the night unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the

(*b*) Liv. l. 24. n. 40.

precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. And now the cries of those who were first attacked awaking the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and three thousand of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who staid at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance forward ; after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia ; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

(i) For some time Philip, who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character ; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation and wisdom he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice ; and having no longer as formerly his glory in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind : the too common effect of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

(i) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. 8. p. 518,—519.

One

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with shame, would have abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only sowed it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge on his subjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponnesus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the stratagems possible to overreach and surprize the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he pulled off the mask, and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the most dissolute life: For he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law, (a subject of the greatest grief to him) and which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible but this rupture must make some noise, Philip, whom the greatest crimes now cost nothing, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidants, to dispatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into Aratus's familiarity and friendship, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of them poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights up a slow fire in the body, consumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness : but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happening to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprized, he said, *Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendship.* He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausolæum to his memory as might be worthy his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born ; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers and cloathed in white robes, they went and fetched the corps from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it, which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually : the first, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called *Soteria* ; and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of music sung odes to the lyre ; and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia : It was he at least who brought it to the form and splendor it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, he committed a considerable

considerable error, in calling in to the assistance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of the great Cleomenes king of Sparta.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: for that prince being become compleatly wicked, says Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poisons, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses: Inasmuch that, though he was at that time very young and in the bloom of life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself, but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

(*k*) About this time Philip engaged in a successful expedition against the Illyrians. He had long desired to possess himself of Lissus; but believed it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated and so strongly fortified, that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees; and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here he posted the flower of his troops. The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally, and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they should infallibly defeat him; and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out, and joined the inhabi-

(*k*, Polyb. l. 8. p. 519—521.

tants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade attacked the castle, and carried it without great resistance. And now, the signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.

(1) M. Valerius Levinus, as Prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to bring over some of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the most powerful) from his interest. He therefore began by founding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having assured himself of them, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, and proved it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily, and Capua in Italy; he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the first people in that part of the world who should have concluded an alliance with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequence to them. That the Romans had already humbled their pride; and would oblige them, not only to give up such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cause to fear for their own countries. . That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

(1) A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211. Liv. l. 26. n. 24—26.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian state; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greatest credit and authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the Prætor, and said many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topics as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most was, the hopes of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia; Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the same conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, “ That the Ætolians should declare
 “ war as soon as possible against Philip: That the
 “ Romans should furnish them, at least, twenty-five
 “ gallies, *quinqueremes*, or of five benches of oars.
 “ That such cities as should be taken from Ætolia
 “ as far as the island of * Corcyra, should be possessed
 “ by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by
 “ the Romans. That the Romans should aid the
 “ Ætolians in making themselves masters of Acarna-
 “ nia: That the Ætolians should not be allowed to
 “ conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition
 “ that he should be obliged to withdraw his troops out
 “ of the territories of the Romans and those of their
 “ allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the
 “ same terms.” Immediately hostilities commenced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded that the king had so much business, and so many enemies upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

* *Corfu*.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætoli-ans. To be the sooner able to march out against them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other side, makes preparations for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who, though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for them, to oppose, at one and the same time, two such powerful states as the Ætoli-ans and Romans; they took up arms out of despair, rather than from prudential motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly, having sent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of sixty; all those who remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, engaged themselves by oath never to return except victorious; uttered the most dreadful imprecations against such among them as should break their oaths; and only desired the Epirots, to bury in the same grave all who should fall in the battle, with the following inscription over them. **HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTOLIANS.** Full of courage they set out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great resolution and bravery terrified the Ætoli-ans, who also received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this, they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of the spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra*, which surrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætoli-ans, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

* *A city of Achaia in Phœcis.*

(*m*) In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, several other powers had been invited to accede to it ; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chleneas, their representative or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them ; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece ; particularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans, who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country ; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land ; and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded, with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lyciscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most antient and most cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to suffer Barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West ; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. “ From what motive did your ances-

(*m*) Polyb. l. 9. p. 361—571.

“tors,” continued he, “throw into a well, the man
 “who came, in Xerxes’s name, to invite them to
 “submit themselves to, and join with that monarch?
 “Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his three
 “hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it
 “not merely to defend the common liberties of
 “Greece? And now, you are advised to give them
 “up to other Barbarians, who, the more moderate
 “they appear, are so much the more dangerous. As
 “to the Ætolians,” says he, “(if it be possible for
 “them to stoop so low) they may dishonour them-
 “selves by so shameful a prevarication: this, indeed,
 “would be natural for them to do, as they are utter
 “strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but
 “sordid views of interest. But as to you, O Spar-
 “tans, who are born defenders of the liberty and
 “honour of Greece, you will sustain that glorious
 “title to the end.”

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches
 are repeated, goes no farther; and does not inform
 us what was the result of them. However, the sequel
 of the history shows, that Sparta joined with the Æto-
 lians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at
 that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and
 disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned
 great disturbances in the city. One faction was warm
 for Philip, and the other declared openly against him,
 which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by
 Machanidas, who taking advantage of the feuds which
 infested the commonwealth, seized upon the govern-
 ment, and made himself tyrant of his country.

(n) P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with
 their fleet to succour the Ætolians, the latter were
 flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the oppo-
 site party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas,
 the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the terri-
 tories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was.

(n) A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 203. Liv. l. 27. n. 29—33. Polyb.
 l. 10. p. 612.

Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece, to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia. * Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt; from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio, all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good-will for the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians and their confederates, paved the way for his subjecting all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired, and even gave him access to those cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and, in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. Being come into the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the assembly, he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies, he himself was sincerely desirous of peace; and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left four thousand

* *A city of Thessaly in Phtiotis.*

† *A city of Thessaly.*

troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the splendor of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busied in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy ; and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause ; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators ; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a Plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, for fear of being murdered.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycliadus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day, he laid waste the neighbouring lands ; afterwards he drew near the city in battle-array, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a sally. Accordingly they came out ; but Philip was greatly surprized to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. (o) The fight was very bloody. Damophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopœmen who commanded that of

(o) Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and spurred towards him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution ; and, preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts ; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midst of the cavalry, and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king incamped about five miles from that place ; and the next day, having attacked a castle, in which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, were retired ; he took four thousand prisoners, and twenty thousand head of cattle of all sorts : an advantage, which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That instant, advice was brought him that the Barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia ; upon which he immediately set out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thousand five hundred men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage,

SECT. V. *Education and great qualities of Philopœmen.*

(p) **P**hilopœmen, of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus. He was nobly educated by Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopœmen.

Being come to years of discretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcesilaus, founder of the new academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country ; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years ; Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called *the last of the Greeks*, as Brutus was afterwards called *the last of the Romans* : undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her antient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs ; his activity and boldness in executing ; and his perfect disinterestedness ; but as to his gentleness, patience and moderation with regard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his head-

(p) Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

strong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtue.

And indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises, as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he seemed by his muscles and stature to be very well made for wrestling; and some particular friends advising him to apply himself to it, he asked them, whether this exercise of the *Athletæ* contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the *Athletæ*, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted; that this way of life, I say, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the Athletic exercises; looking upon them as of no service to the public, and considering them, from that instant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and nimble; or else used to spend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw,

like one of his slaves, and sleep so till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in public affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horses and arms, or employed it in ransoming the citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion sake, but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded, that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must intreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgment of Philopœmen, to convey themselves in imagination back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Persians, Greeks and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal carr crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappiness they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction ; however, he did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits, and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called *the Tactics*, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array ; and the histories of Alexander the Great : For it was his opinion, that words should always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice ; having very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the *Tactics*, he did not value the seeing demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the several places he came to : for in his marches, he used to observe exactly the position of the hills as well as vallies ; all the irregularities of the ground ; the several different forms and figures battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods and defiles in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves : and after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes king of Sparta attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his service. However,

ever, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them ; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court-life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impossible for him to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the art of war. Crete served him as an excellent school ; so that he made a great progress in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to a most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard such great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was, to enquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble or suffer such a degeneracy. He himself therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men ; inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward ; and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often ; or made them engage in tournaments, on such spots as would admit of the greatest number of spectators. By this practice, he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, was performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itself spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardor of his attacks; nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league, to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he rose, they were weak and greatly despised, because divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its private interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was, to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprizes was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, benevolence; and, which was considered as a defect in his politics, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed subjected his state to them. But, the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exercise, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and ponderous shields; gave them strong lances, helmets, and armour for the breast and thigh; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense, and this was, to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expence. I say, to restrain ; imagining that it would not be possible for him to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and outward ornaments. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with a love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brightest dyes; coats of mail for horsemen, and cloaks for the soldiers, all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Pomp in all other things, which attract the eye, (says Plutarch) infallibly induces luxury ; and inspires all those who take a pleasure in gazing upon it, with a secret effeminacy and indolence : the senses enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations. But on the contrary, that magnificence whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. (q) Plutarch observes that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers not to be superfluous on any other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendor of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands or on their bodies, exalts the courage of men who are naturally brave and ambitious ; and engages such as are of a covetous temper, to exert themselves the more in fight, in or-

(q) Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

der to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable possession. The author in question tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards was, his bestowing on them with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of * Cæsar, who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendor, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of so great a value.

However, I must not omit observing, that generals no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. (r) Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes, of the little advantage which splendor is to an army, would not allow such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them, as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, said † to his troops, that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always con-

(r) Plut. in Lucullo, p. 496.

* Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento & auro politis armis ornaret, simul & ad speciem, & quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni. *Sueton. in Jul. Cæs.* c. 67.

† Horridum militem esse debere, non cælatum auro argentoque,

sed ferro & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam veriùs quàm arma esse; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem & vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, & omnia illa victoriam sequi: & ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris præmium esse. *Liv.* l. 9. n. 40.

sequential.

sequential of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor soever he may be. It is well known, that † Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.

In this opposition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce, which of those great men had the most just way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot but admire the judgment of Philopœmen, who seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it adviseable to banish it entirely; but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendor consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and diligence. They were prodigiously pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, because they took greater delight in carrying them from their splendor and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen, to study diligently so perfect a model;

† *Aciem hostium auro purpura-
que fulgentem intueri jubebat,
prædam non arma gestantem.*

*Irent, & imbellibus feminis aurum
viri eriperent. 2. Curt. l. 3. c.
10.*

and to imitate him in all those things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince : The war which broke out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and especially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius ; and do not want talents and qualities capable of raising them to whatever is greatest : But then, they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste, which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendor, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of antient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far, I mean, as is consistent with our manners ; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, such as philosophy, history, and polity ; were they to propose as models for their imitation, the many illustrious generals which the last age produced ; were they to put themselves under the discipline of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation ; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distinguishing themselves by solid merit ; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the military knowledge ; to study it in all its parts, and acquire the true scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means, which conduce to their perfection in it ; how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes would France not produce ! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished, (and why should we not

not wish it?) that some one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our armies this taste of the antients, for simplicity, frugality, and generosity ; and direct the taste of the French nation, to things truly beautiful, solid, and just ! All conquests would be infinitely short of such a glory.

SECT. VI. *Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius.*
A digression of Polybius upon signals made by fire.

(s) **W**E have already said, that Sulpitius the proconsul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter quarters at Ægina. As soon as spring appeared they had quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty galleys. Philip on the other side, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts, to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception ; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture, and the necessity of their affairs might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotusa, and made his troops march thither from Larissa which lies very near it ; and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island of Peparethos ; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tisæum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain these signals hereafter.

(s) A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Polyb. l. 10. p. 612—614. Liv. l. 28. n. 5—8.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid siege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time ; but Plator, who commanded it under Philip, surrendered it treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The signals were made very seasonably there ; and the commander, deaf and inaccessible to the offers of the proconsul, prepared for a stout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself ; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous strait, * in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and stated hours, as (says Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilst the waves roll on all sides with so much impetuosity, that they seem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains ; so that ships can never ride there in safety.

Attalus besieged Opuntus, a city situated not far from the sea-side, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of † sixty miles in one day. The city had been just taken before he arrived at it ; and he might have surprized Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great pre-

* Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam & venti ab utriusque terræ præaltis montibus subitac procellosi se dejiciunt, & fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocatur ; sed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verso

mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur. *Liv.*

† So *Livy* has it ; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

cipitation.

cipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the sea-side.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated the project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, that were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympic games; he repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus were sailed away, he did the same.

Philip * was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmost diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occasions, in quest of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest dispatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in escaping his pursuits: That this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so compleat a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies: After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned

* Philippus mœrebat &angebatur, cùm ad omnia ipse raptim infect, nulli tamen se rei in tempore

occurrisse; & sapientem omnia ex oculis elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam. *Liv.*

into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardanians.

Digression of Polybius, on the signals made by fire.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself; and besides, it bears so near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of a great length, and which the reader may pass over if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almost verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the same signals made by fire: But then he only hints at them, because as they were not invented by the Romans, consequently this was a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. But this artifice of the signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks, and shows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflexions they had formed in all things relative to it, and the astonishing progress they had made (†), in respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour and military signals.

As the making of signals by fire, says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy; I believe it will not be proper to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but especially

(†) Polyb. l. 10. p. 614—618.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, & Peparethum mittit, qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipse in Tisæo (mons est in altitu-

dinem ingentem cacuminis editi) speculam posuit, ut ignibus precul sublati, signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet. Liv. l. 28. n. 5.

in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before, or are then transacting; they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this help, the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly this method of giving notice, was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to the making use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon: and as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known at a distance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, a treason, an horrid murder committed in a city, and such like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen; this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas *, who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, endeavoured to compleat what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

* *Æneas was contemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counsellors, made an abridgment of it. Pyrrhus also writ on the same subject. Ælian. Tacit. cap. 1. Cicero mentions the*

two last in one of his epistles. Summum me ducem literæ tuæ reddiderunt. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lectitasse. Lib. 9. Epist. 25. ad Papir. Poetam.

Those,

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another, upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two vessels of earth, exactly equal in breadth and depth: and they need be but four foot and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of these vessels, but not quite so wide, that they may be let down with ease to the bottom of these vessels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided exactly and distinctly by spaces of three inches each, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be writ on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be writ. A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY HEAVILY ARMED, ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: HORSE AND FOOT. On another: SHIPS. Then PROVISIONS; and so on, till all the events which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are writ down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal bigness, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then, the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as the vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the vessels, in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by an uniform execution on both sides.

When they are well assured of this, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed: water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. In pro-

portion as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light is raised, which must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. (This first signal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive.) Then the torch or other light must be taken away, and the cocks set open. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up his torch; and on the other side, the correspondent signal-maker immediately turns the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is written on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel; on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides, both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon; it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreseen, there would be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inscription on the stick is no ways exact and circumstantial. We are not told how many horse and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ships are arrived, nor the quantity of provisions we have. For, before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible, though most essential; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, nor in what part of the country they are? How must a party either confide in or doubt

doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenus, which others ascribe to Democlitus; however we have improved it, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactness. This method is as follows.

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order on five columns; five letters in each column, the last excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shows two, and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must observe and write down. This both parties must agree upon between them.

These several things being fixed, and each of them got to his post, the man who gives the signal must have a * geometrical instrument with two tubes, in

* The figure of it is annexed at the end of this little treatise.

order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument ; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten foot broad, and about the height of a man ; in order that the torches which shall be lifted up over it, may spread a strong, clear light ; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given, that, *An hundred Cretans or Kretans are gone over to the enemy.* First, he must make choice of such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible, as *Cretans or Kretans * an hundred have deserted*, which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. He then must lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is a K.

Afterwards four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P † which is in the fourth column ; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reason why two setts of lights are used is, because every letter must be pointed out twice ; the first, to denote the column to which it belongs ; and the second, to show its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice : But it must be practised a long time, before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

* The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.

† This is the capital letter R in the Greek tongue.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, *The art of making signals both by sea and land*. The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he had communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues, (in as short a space of time as a man could write down, and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but in my opinion such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating speedy advices; and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

(*t*) In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who spared Lynceus; it is related that both flying, and each being arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out for the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince: where the she-centinel, appointed to watch this signal, declares

(*t*) Pausan. l. 2. p. 130.

she had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find * by the writings of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succour, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were caught from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans at sun-rise, was known by eight or nine a-clock in the evening in Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

(u) We are told of a much shorter method. It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted a kind of centinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa (upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues) in forty-eight hours.

It is also related, that a † Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great, an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from so great a distance as between his hereditary kingdom, and his most remote conquest in India: but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: However, he soon repented it, and very justly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.

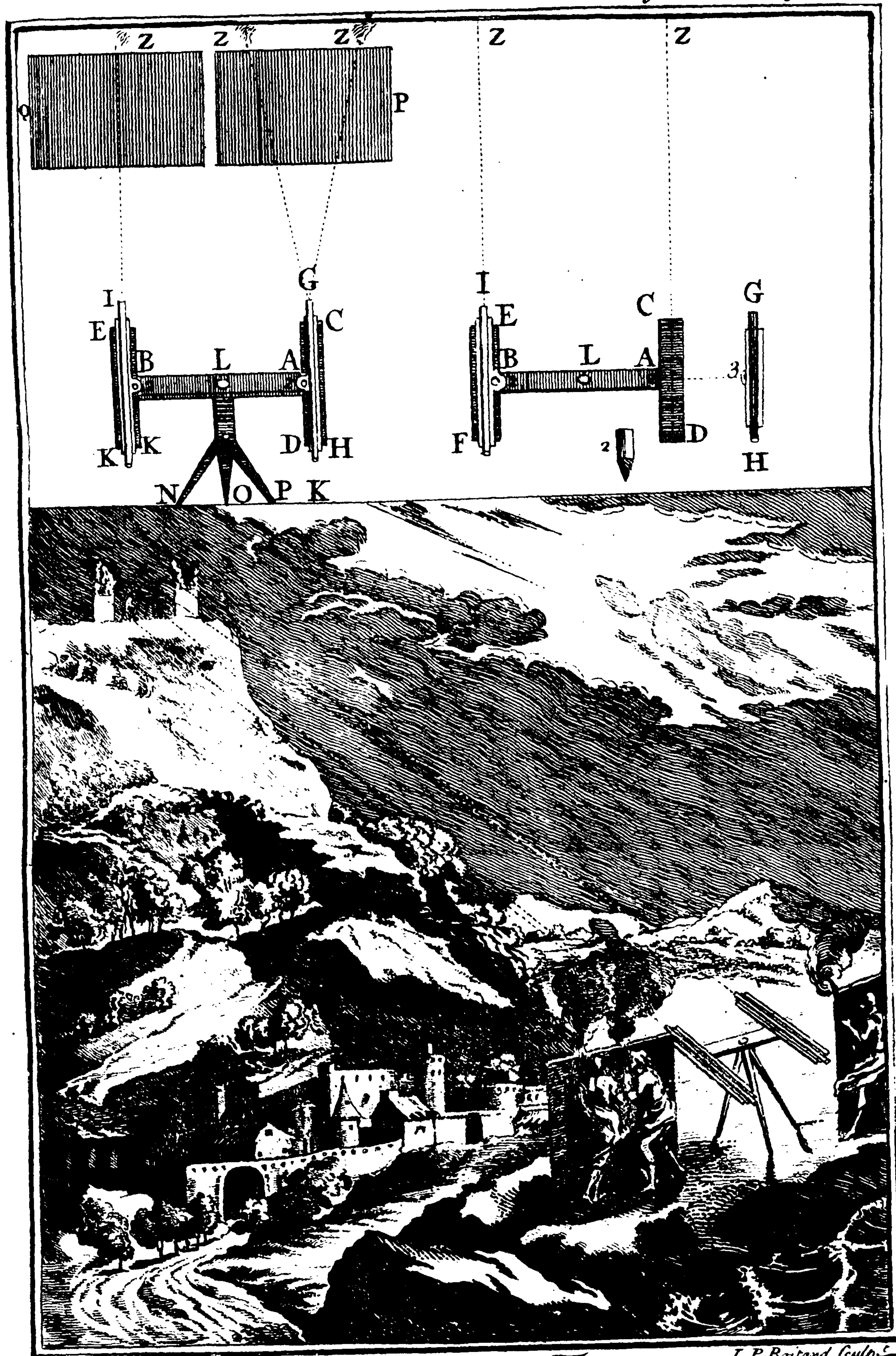
(x) Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the

(u) Coel. Rhodig. l. 18. c. 8.

(x) Plin. l. 7. c. 37.

* Celeriter, ut antè Cæsar imperaverat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis cò concursus est. *Cæs. Bell. Gall.* l. 2.

† Vigenere in his remarks on the seventh book of Cæsar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.



Signals made by Fire.

L. P. Boitard sculp.

city of Modena besieged by Anthony, who prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pidgeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says * Pliny, were Anthony's intrenchments and centinels to him ? of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his rout through the air.

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pidgeons, who have young ones at Aleppo. A letter, containing the advices to be communicated, is fastened about the pidgeons necks or feet; this being done, the pidgeons take wing, soar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

Description of the instrument employed in signals made by fire.

MR. Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure of the instrument mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the instrument described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

A B is a beam about four or five foot long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed, and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, C D, E F, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam; and three or four foot long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superficies very smooth. In

* Quid vallum, & vigil obfidio, atque etiam retia amne præ-

texta profuere Antonio, per cœlum eunte nuntio ?

the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides ; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half, or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be drove in very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2) whose upper part, which must be cylindrical, and five or six * lines in diameter, shall project seven or eight lines, above the superficies of these cross pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders G H, I K, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross pieces on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend six inches beyond it at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity, (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter ; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood C D, E F, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw, (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend, some lines, beyond the superficies of the plates. And in such a manner as that those tubes may turn, with their plates about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be given.

The tubes must be blacked within, in order that when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed about the end, on the side of the observer, a

* *Twelfth part of an inch.*

perforated ring, the aperture of which must be of three or four lines ; and place at the other end, two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam A B must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot L M N O P, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferencers, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans, and survey, &c. but it has the same uses, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must have the like instrument ; otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals made, are to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance, according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens P Q, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the signals ; or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstance of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received, is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making signals by fire ; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use, for giving signals at a considerable distance. For it is certain that, how large soever this machine be, signals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5 torches, will not be seen at 5, 6, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide spreading fires, of whole loads of straw or wood ; and consequently,

boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius's time, they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments might have made the signals in question visible, at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done : but I still doubt, whether they could be employed to the use mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city besieged might communicate advice to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a siege, in order to taking proper measures ; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECT. VII. *Philopœmen gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general. Nabis succeeds Machanidas. Some instances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides are included.*

THE Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they resolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not molest them during the two following years.

(y) In the first, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field ; and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their fame and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of the dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit ; but of the neatness and

(y) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. Polyb. l. 11. p. 629—631.

splendor of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His speech was received with universal applause, that, at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at ; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue ; especially when his actions correspond with his words ; for then, it is scarce possible to resist his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions : and, for himself, he was sure never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study during his life to speak nothing but the truth : and indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade ; his conduct being a rule of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, every body returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them ; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside in the government, it could not but flourish. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place ; acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

(z) Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

(z) Polyb. l. 11. p. 631—637. Plat. in Philop. p. 361.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light-infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots loaded with * catapultæ, and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first consisting of Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the center, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some † Tarentine horse, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were even not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing. But when he was advanced to a proper distance, he on a sudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and to cover it, he caused all the chariots loaded

* Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

† The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. Liv. l. 35. n. 23.

with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones. However, he did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last, the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity acquired by experience giving them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers who sustained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested. That the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or being in confusion, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that instant with his infantry the center of that of the enemies, and taking it at the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair; suffers himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity

tuosity of his soldiers, and pursues, without order or discipline, those who were flying ; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the center, takes the first cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and seizes the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the center of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to stay in the post they had just seized, till farther orders ; and at the same time directed * Polybius the Megalopolitan to rally all the Illyrians, cuirassiers and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks and flying as the rest had done, had drawn off to avoid the fury of the conqueror ; and, with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his center, to check the enemy in their return from the pursuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the first success of their wing, without waiting for the signal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans, as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether from being so near the enemy, they were ashamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch because it was dry and had no hedge ; and besides, being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be founded. His troops levelling their pikes fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. These, who at their descending into the ditch, had broke their

* The late translator of Polybius, mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking ; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius the historian

was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error more excusable.

ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled ; nevertheless, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own soldiers.

To compleat the glory of this action, the business now was to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled ; when being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited ; and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horse : so that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, claps spurs to his horse, and springs forward in order to leap over. That very instant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives with incredible ardor as far as Tegea ; entered the city with them ; and being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant ; which sta-
tue

ture they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and disposed all things necessary for this great event, And indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who still speaks, and continues his reflexions) Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as some have imagined; but because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces and entirely defeated; or if, being stopt by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle thro' fear, that he would be thought the most unskilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy without daring to come to a battle; and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprize, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in his not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks these small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side; and in which, by that means, one may follow as it were with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers; observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit; that these, I say, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the study of history.

(a) It is related that in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected

(a, A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

general

general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the festival ; he caused his phalanx, very splendidly cloathed, to pass in review before all the Greeks ; and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength and agility they performed the several military movements, without breaking or disordering their ranks in the least. He afterwards went into the theatre in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age ; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity ; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success under this illustrious general had inspired them.

The very instant that flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the *Persians* of * Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verse,

*The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
The brightest crown the gods bestow.*

These lofty verses, being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen ; and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece ; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those antient times, and their pristine glory ; so greatly did a general, like Philopœmen, increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of those they are used to ; and that, in case any other person attempts to mount them, they

* This was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the XCVth Olympiad, i. e. 298 years before Christ.

One of his pieces was entitled the Persians.

are displeased, and prounce about with their new rider : the same disposition appeared in the Achæan league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought ; if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen ; and the moment he appeared the whole league revived and were ready for action ; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities ; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be a more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved and revered by the army and people in the manner Philopœmen was ? Is it possible for any man to be so tasteless and void of sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen ; acquired him the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagine they derive, from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables. Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do, but then he placed it in what it really consists. The cloathing his troops splendidly, providing them good horses and shining arms ; supplying with a generous hand all their wants both public and private ; distributing money seasonably to encourage the officers and even private men : in acting thus Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its antient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only consequence of which was its changing one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous of its liberty and independance, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed by its indolence studious of nothing but to make itself
new

new chains, or to support its old ones. Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, who, though a worse tyrant, yet the Spartans did not show the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

(b) Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours to lay the solid foundations of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose, he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He banished from it all such as were most distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to his creatures. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens, he acted in such a manner, that they could not find any secure asylum even in foreign countries. Some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries; and he recalled others from banishment, with no other view but to murder them.

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, representing a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person, to extort money from him, he would first declare, in the kindest and most gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was exposed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of his government, the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the

(b) Polyb. l. 13. p. 674,—675.

public. In case the person spoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted. But, if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, “ Probably the talent
 “ of persuasion is not mine ; but I hope that Apega
 “ will have some effect upon you.” This Apega was his wife. He no sooner had uttered these words, but his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms and breast of this machine were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms ; and laying hers round his waste, clasped him to her bosom, whilst he vented the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be so completely wicked, as to contrive in cold blood such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures ; and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies, and hearing their groans ? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmost detestation, where men thought it glorious to confront death ; where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty ; it is astonishing, I say, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

(c) I have already observed that the Romans, employed in a more important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with considerable aids ; ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of

(c) A. M. 330c. Ant. J. C. 204. Liv. l. 29. n. 12.

war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace, without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies, (with the proconsul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace; Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom, and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirots to be included in it: and the Romans included in the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus; Nabis the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas; the people of Elis, the Messenians and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

SECT. VIII. *The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philopator's death.*

THE history of the wars in Greece, obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions in Asia; and therefore we now return to them.

(d) Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia Minor, marched towards the east, to reduce those provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who

(d) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Polyb. l. 10, p. 597—602.
founded

founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts ; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ec-batana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the finest in the world, and the king's palace is seven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the least piece of timber was visible ; the joists, the beams, the ceilings, and columns, which sustained the porticoes and piazzas being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great ; and the rest-plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilt columns ; and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus's image ; the whole amounting to four thousand talents, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Arfaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple ; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it ; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one, except those who know the country, can find them. On this occasion, a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in

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in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places, to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour or expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were built; and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aquæducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, that Polybius calls wells.

(e) When Arsaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts, in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year, in order to re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

(f) The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media: Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that in securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Par-

(e) A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.
Ant. J. C. 210.

(f) A. M. 3794.

thia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to approach him.

(g) However, he was mistaken: for, as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and soon forced them all. He afterwards assembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringis, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

(h) In the mean time Arsaces was very busy. As he retired, he reassembled troops, which at last formed an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and put a stop to their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy; and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made him, for terminating so tedious a war.

(i) At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that Arsaces should continue in possession of Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus, in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

(k) Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus king of Bactria. We have already shown, in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son

(g) A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209.
c. 5. (i) A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208.
3797. Ant. J. C. 207.

(k) Justin. l. 41.
(k) A. M.

of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war against Antiochus. (l) The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria; but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which however was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

At last he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just; that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that should they persist obstinately in disputing it, those Barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. (m) This reflexion made an impression on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of ma-

(l) Polyb. l. 10. p. 620, 621. & l. 11. p. 651, 652.

(m) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

jesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put into writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he passed mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to an hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania; establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

(*n*) He passed the winter in the last country. From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia; and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigor of his enterprizes, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

(*o*) A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was scarce above twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.

(*n*) A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.
Ant. J. C. 204.

(*o*) A. M. 3800.

BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.

S E Q U E L of the

H I S T O R Y

O F

Alexander's Successors.

A R T I C L E I.

THIS first article includes twenty-four years, during which Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned in Egypt. In this interval, the Romans engage in war; first against Philip king of Macedon, over whom they gain a famous victory; and then against Antiochus king of Syria, who also is defeated, and forced to sue for peace. At the same time, feuds and divisions break out between the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans, and the famous Philopœmen dies.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Epiphanes succeeds Philopator his father in the kingdom of Egypt. Antiochus and Philip enter into an alliance to invade his dominions. The Romans become guardians of the young king. Antiochus subdues Palestine and Cœlosyria. The war of Philip against the Athenians, Attalus, and the Rhodians. He besieges Abydos. The unhappy fate of that city. The Romans declare war against Philip. Sulpitius the consul is sent into Macedonia.*

(p) **I** Related in the preceding book, how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out with riots and excesses, had come to his end, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public; in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be easily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibes in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures to dispatch him.

At last they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was assembled, on which Agathocles and Agathoclea were present. Agathocles, after shedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reason he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed the design of usurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately dispatched, and that in conse-

(p) A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Justin. l. 30. c. 2. Polyb. l. 15. p. 712—720.

* Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who descended from the Macedonians, and the posterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of those to whom the same privileges had been granted.

quence he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his sister, and *Œinanthé* his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them was spared. The usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people, and who never punish those who resemble themselves.

Philammon, the assassin, who had been hired to murder *Arfinoe*, being returned from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria*, two or three days before this tumult broke out; the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it; and taking this opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to *Sofibes*, son to him who had governed during the three last reigns. History does not inform us whether he was still alive: but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had passed above threescore years in the administration. (q) No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this *Sofibes*. He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. *Polybius* imputes to him the murder of *Lyfimachus*, son of *Ptolemy*, and of *Arfinoe* daughter of that *Ly-*

(q) *Polyb.* in Excerpt. p. 64.

simachus ; of Magas son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas ; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator ; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta ; and lastly, of Arsinoe daughter of Berenice. It is surprizing that, notwithstanding a conduct of so much inhumanity and cruelty in his administration, he should support himself so long, and at last come to a peaceable end.

(r) Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet, no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance ; and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Egypt ; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Coelosyria and Palestine ; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence ; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes ; that the large ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes. But it fully justified its conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts ; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following

(r) A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203. Polyb. l. 3. p. 159. Id. l. 15. p. 707, & 708.

their example. For, whilst they are meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piece-meal; providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus; and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities, as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.

(s) During that time, Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Miletus.

(t) The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in assaulting that city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods; and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from their foundations, that not the least footsteps of them might remain.

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, three thousand Macedonians, and six thousand allies; and two thousand Macedonians and confederates, with seven hundred Egyptians, were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus threescore and ten.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that for two reasons: the first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had stopt even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sen-

(s) Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70. & 73.

(t) A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. Polyb. Ib. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

sible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others, nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men either by sea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it visibly damped his natural vivacity.

(u) Nevertheless, the ill success of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was, to be unshaken in his resolutions; and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible constancy and perseverance; and accordingly he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date about this time, the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Ciansians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants are called Ciansians, was a small city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it, had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it, at the request of his son-in-law Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city was in all probability taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death, and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Ciansians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens; and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is

(u) A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. Polyb. l. 16. p. 733—739. Liv. l. 31. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. 17. p. 745. Liv. l. 31. n. 31. Strab. l. 12. p. 563. Polyb. l. 15. p. 709—711.

surprizing,

surprizing, they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages, which show, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos shut her gates against him ; and even refused to hear the deputies he had sent, so that he was forced to besiege it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestus in Europe. The distance between these two cities was but about two miles. The reader will suppose, that Abydos must be a city of great importance, as it commanded the streights ; and made those who were possessed of it, masters of the communication between the Euxine Sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have rose to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed with the greatest vigour the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, but they immediately were either dismounted by the balistæ, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydonians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But, finding the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other ; they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: That such forces

as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe-conduct ; and that all free citizens should retire whithersoever they pleased, with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydonians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly ; the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the besieged, in transports of despair, assemble together, and consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution ; first, that the slaves should be set at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour : secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children with their nurses, in the Gymnasium : that this being done, they then should bring into the great square, all the gold and silver in the city ; and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the * Quadrireme of the Rhodians, and the Trireme of the Cizycenians. This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they chose fifty of the wisest and most antient of the citizens, but at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what should have been determined ; and they were made to take an oath in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy master of the inward wall, they should kill the women and children, set fire to the two gallies laden with their effects, and throw into the sea all their gold and silver which they had heaped together : then sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand : and after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to

* Quadriremes were gallies with four benches of oars, and Triremes those with three.

the breach, and fight to the last. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that tho' Philip had perpetually sustained with fresh soldiers those who had mounted to the assault ; yet, when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydonians as marched first to the breach, over the heaps of the slain, fought with fury ; and not only made use of their swords and javelins, but, after their arms were broke to pieces or forced out of their hands, they rushed furiously upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, broke the *farissæ* or long spears of others ; and, with the pieces, struck their faces and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians ; and those who had escaped, were so prodigiously fatigued and had received so many wounds, that they could scarce support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror ; agreed that, to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip by day-break, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip ; during which the greatest part of the Abydonians who survived, vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens ; and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But

now he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated citizens, whom despair had made furious and distracted, some were strangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their swords; some were running to murder them, others were plunging them into wells, whilst others again were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized with horror at this spectacle, stopt the soldiers who were greedy of plunder; and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes that during this interval, they would change their resolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another. and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

(x) A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had just before spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that so gloriously (with regard to the Romans) terminated the second Punic war. (y) The court of Egypt, being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had addressed the Romans for protection; and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom, during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch

(x) A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201.

c. 2. & 3. & l. 31. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. 6. c. 6. Liv. l. 31. n. 1, 2. & 18.

(y) Justin. l. 30.

had desired it at his death. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase, by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee, that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had some differences which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated in accepting the guardianship; and in consequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to injoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

At the same time there arrived in Rome ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprizes of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some great design. This was a fresh motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos at the time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece; not to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration his pretensions upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the

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the rupture. *But*, says Æmilius, interrupting him, *did the Athenians and Abydonians attack you first?* Philip *, who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king; *Your age*, says he to the ambassador, *your beauty*, (for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person) *and especially the Roman name exalt your pride to a prodigious degree.* For my part, *I wish your republic may observe punctually the treaties it has concluded with me: but, in case I should be invaded by it, I hope to show, that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation.* The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer; and Philip having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out; and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes the Acarnanian to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

(z) In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waste, the pretence of which invasion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at

(z) Liv. l. 31. n. 14.

* Infueto vera audire, ferocior oratio visa est, quàm quæ habenda apud regem esset. *Ætas*, inquit, *& forma, & super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primùm velim vos fœderum*

memores servare mecum pacem. Si bello lacefferitis, miki quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minùs quàm Romanum nobile bello sentiatis. Liv. l. 31. n. 18.

the time when the grand mysteries were solemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbid. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.

(a) The Athenians carried their complaints against this enterprize to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only sought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very busy in Asia. This made the Romans uneasy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon him, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war against Carthage, they imagined it adviseable to prevent the enterprizes of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer as pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus the prætor to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

(b) In the mean time the Roman senate deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was up-

(a) Liv. l. 31. n. 1—3.

(b) Ibid. n. 5.

on the point of invading Attica in person ; and that in case they were not immediately succoured, he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the proprætor and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them ; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.

(b) Upon this news, the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed by an embassy that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty gallies, commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail that instant. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose ; having taken the field in person against Attalus and the Rhodians.

SECT. II. *Expeditions of the consul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themselves. Philip loses a battle. Villius succeeds Sulpitius. No considerable transaction happens during his government. Flaminius succeeds him. Antiochus recovers Cœlosyria, of which he had been dispossessed by Aristomenes the prime minister of Egypt. Various expeditions of the consul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans.*

(c) **C**laudius Cento, whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his gallies, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with securing the city and the country round it ; but having advice that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day ; and finding the centi-

(b) A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. 31. n. 14.

(c) A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. 31. n. 22—26.

nels asleep, entered it without molestation ; set fire to the public magazines which were full of corn, and to the arsenal that was well provided with machines of war ; cut the whole garrison to pieces ; and after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither in hopes of surprizing the Romans. However, they were gone ; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, but to be spectator of that city, still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers called Hemerodromi *, who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that his stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylon ; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour ; and having killed several of them with his own hand, repulsed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviseable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country-seats, on the places for the public exercises, as the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city ; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places. He marched from hence with a view of surprizing Eleusis, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his in-

* They were so called from running a great number of miles in one day.
curfions.

curfions. Philip offered to charge himself entirely with that war, and his propofal was received with univerfal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much; that they fhould furnifh him with as many troops as were neceffary for garrifoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they fhould not leave the places behind him without defence whilft he was fighting for them. They perceived that his defign was, to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himfelf mafter of it, and engage it in the war againft the Romans. Cycliadus, who prefided in the afsembly, eluded the propofal, by obferving that it was not allowed by their laws, to debate on any fubject but that for which the afsembly had been summoned. They therefore broke up, after having refolved upon the war againft Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a fecond attempt upon Athens, which fucceeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of fuch temples, ftatues, and valuable works as remained in that country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

(*d*) The conful, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, fent to Macedonia a confiderable detachment under the command of Apuftius the lieutenant, who laid wafte the plains, and took feveral fmall cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view was, to engage the Ætolians to their fide. They were now going to hold their general afsembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, fent their ambafadors. He who was deputed by Philip fpoke firft. All he required was, that the Ætolians fhould obferve ftrictly the conditions of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how ufelefs their alliance with the Ro-

(*d*) Liv. l. 31. n. 27—32.

mans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, as Syracuse, Tarentum, Capua ; the last city especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, or magistrates ; more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. “ If foreigners, says he, who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separate us from them, should dispossess us of this country ; it would be ridiculous in us to expect more human treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise, with little or no consequence or duration ; but with foreigners, with Barbarians, we, whilst we are Greeks, are, and shall for ever be at war. This time three years you concluded a peace with Philip in this very place ; now the same causes still subsist ; and we hope that you will act in the same manner.”

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most awful tombs ; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead, and the majesty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion of Athens ; and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power

power only that of the gods could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonian, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer; and exemplified in Carthage, which, but just before, had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty, declared, that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented in a short, but strong and pathetic speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family, and his friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. “But, to confine my speech to what relates directly to you,” says the ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, “we engaged in the war against Philip, in no other view but to defend you; and you have concluded a separate peace with him. Possibly you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; whilst we, on the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a war which you had renounced. However, having now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole force of our arms against Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendship and alliance, unless you should chuse to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans.”

Damocritus,

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the voices. It is said, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had ; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republic, which now (he said) might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest party.

(e) In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by sea and land ; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ, and Philip had also taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched ; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the spot.

The king, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service ; caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witnesses of the honours paid to their memory. * Nothing is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar. This spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed scarce any other weapons but

(e) Liv. l. 31. n. 33—39.

* Nihil tam incertum nec tam inestimabile est, quàm animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incussit. Liv.

arrows

arrows, javelins and lances ; and for that reason the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gashes made by the Spanish sabres ; whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped way, and heads separated from the bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemy they were to act.

The king himself, who had never seen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse ; and posted himself at a little above two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, * that what he saw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The consul and the king were quiet for the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horse, and the other foot ; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided with no less prudence an ambuscade which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out, and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and for that reason he lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults and reproaches of Sul-

* *The same words are ascribed to Pyrrhus.*

pitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles distance, and advanced towards a village called Octolophos, where the foragers dispersed themselves all over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out ; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march ; and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers ; ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way ; whilst he himself seized all the passes by which they could return. And now nothing was seen on all sides but blood and slaughter ; during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces ; and those who guarded the passes killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march out, and succour their comrades wherever they could : as for himself he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in an hollow square against the enemy. The troopers, being dispersed up and down, lost their way at first ; being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought in different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which,
by

by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army: not to mention that these troops, being prodigiously animated by the presence of the king, and the Cretans, who fought close together and with the utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided, not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But, by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the soldiers that fled perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about, and pushed their horses against the enemy who were all in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before now flying in their turn. Many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the sword, but several plunging into morasses, were swallowed up, with their horses, in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horse which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it: but the man himself, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated to those of the military profession in order to their avoiding the like error; that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army; and suffer themselves to be deprived through an imprudent desire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have secured.

How-

However, Philip had not lost a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a second: and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore dispatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms, in order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp; set out from it, without noise, the instant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the consul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

(*f*) Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event in order to take up arms, declared without the least hesitation for the Romans, and the Athemaniens followed their example. Both people made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages, consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

(*g*) In this campaign the Roman fleet, joined that of Attalus, came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the sight of so powerful

(*f*) Liv. l. 31. n. 39—43.

(*g*) Liv. l. 31. n. 44—47.

a succour. In a free city * like that of Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions they pleased. Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed : that the festivals, sacrifices and priests established in their honour should be abolished : that every place where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraved relating to them, should be declared impure and profane : that the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies and fleets ; should also utter anathemas and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by sea and land ; in a word, against the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, that whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people ; and that whosoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed upon the spot without any formality. The last clause was, that whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratides, should take place against Philip. In this manner the † Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only strength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands ; after which Atta-

* Nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam : quod genus, cùm in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pol-

let, favore multitudinis alitur. *Liv.*

† Athenienses quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant. *Liv.*

lus and the Romans separated, and went into winter-quarters.

(*b*) In Rome, the year following, new consuls being chosen, Vilius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilst he made the several preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the success of the war he had undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to states, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at, and dissatisfied with his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time he sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a strong tie; such a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; as he himself professed an open violation of all oaths; and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor shew the least veneration for the supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

(*i*) As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidents, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious

(*b*) A. M. 3085. Ant. J. C. 199. Liv. l. 31. n. 4.
n. 3.

(*i*) Polyb. l. 13. p. 672, 673.

as not to scruple the commission of the blackest crimes ; had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets ; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity or honour. Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute the finished villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meanest and most groveling manner towards his superiors. He was in such great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined that powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned an universal joy amongst the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this subject, history does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia, till very late ; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or carry off convoys. (k) T. Quintius* Flamininus, having been nominated consul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predecessors, but set out from Rome at the opening of the spring, with Lucius his brother, who, by leave of the senate, was to command his fleet.

At the beginning of the year in question, Antiochus invaded Attalus very vigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. He intreated the Romans, in

(k) A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. 32. n. 9. 15.

* Plutarch calls him Flamininus, but it is an error, these being two different families.

Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recal his troops. The senate made answer, that as nothing could be more just and reasonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recal his forces: That the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed against Philip their common enemy; that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans should be at peace. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Coelosyria, to recover those cities of which Aristomenes had dispossessed him. The Romans had entrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. (l) The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he raised the best troops he could. (m) He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money, to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers. (n) This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest post in his own country, and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he

(l) A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.
(n) Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.

(m) Liv. l. 31. n. 43

left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such good success in his levies, that he brought six thousand soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

(o) The ministers of Alexandria, seeing Antiochus employed in Asia minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Coelosyria, to recover, if possible, those provinces. He carried on that war so successfully, that he recovered several cities, retook Judæa, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem; and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, whither he brought (besides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the sequel, that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.

(p) He no sooner arrived there in person, but the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the ten thousand men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon; and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus disposed things so happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept

(o) A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Hierom. in 11. Dan. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. (p) A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. 32. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

of the ignominious conditions above mentioned ; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

(q) Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him : and accordingly, having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt ; and returning back, subjected all Palestine and Coelosyria.

(r) The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities ; being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him ; paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle, the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges ; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple ; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made, on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

(s) Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia ; and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews transplanted at this time, that descended many of those * who

(q) Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87, & exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. 33. n. 19.

(r) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

(s) Joseph. ibid.

* They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter. To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad. Jam. i. 1. To the stran-

gers scattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Pet. i. 1.

were *dispersed or scattered abroad*, whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel times.

Antiochus having thus subjected all Coelosyria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquests in Asia minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by re-uniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator its founder. (t) As it would be necessary, for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be at a distance from his kingdom ; he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy ; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older ; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified ; and the Egyptians relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

(u) I now resume the affairs of Macedonia. I observed that Quintius Flaminius (by either of which names I shall call him hereafter) had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul ; and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apsus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow, steep

(t) Hierom. in. c. 11. Daniel.
Ant. J. C. 198.

(u) A. M. 3806.

path in it cut in the rock, and that the enemy were possessed of the avenues; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that he must have employed too much time in this winding march; he was afraid to remove too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly, several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by steep, craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians having planted on all these rocks catapultæ and balistæ, overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds who fed their sheep on these mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way which was not guarded; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them as their guarantee Charops, son of Machatas, the person of the greatest distinction among the Epirots, who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having such a voucher, sends a general with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprize, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few slight skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms; perceiving on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon be-

tween them, he marches directly against the enemy, perpetually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulse the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy ways; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the summit of it with a most dreadful noise; and at the same time fall upon the Macedonians, who seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, are struck with a panic, and fly with the utmost speed. However, not above two thousand of them were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first towards Thessaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. However, as they submitted with great chearfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition than to their past fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he took the most considerable of them. Atrax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so stout a defence, that he at last was forced to leave it.

(y) In the mean time the Roman fleet, reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariste, garrisoned by Macedonians; after which,

(y) Liv. l. 32. n. 16, 25.

the three fleets advanced towards Cenchræ, a port of Corinth.

The consul marching into Phocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that shut her gates against him, so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design, and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying siege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans, to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors, sent in the consul's name by Lucius his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians and the Athenians carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loss in regard to the resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans. They had received from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was universally suspected upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterwards those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip: the Athenians were appointed to speak last, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambassador should advance. They spoke with the greatest virulency against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him: and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches took up the whole day, so that the assembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates, that

that all those who intended to speak, might begin. But no one rose up ; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this Aristenes, chief magistrate of the Achæans ; in order that the assembly might not break up without doing business, spoke as follows : “ What then is become of
 “ that warmth and vigour, with which you used to
 “ dispute, at your tables and in your conversations,
 “ about Philip and the Romans ; which generally
 “ rose to so great a height, that you were ready to cut
 “ one another’s throats ? And now, in an assembly
 “ summoned for no other purpose ; after hearing the
 “ speeches and arguments on both sides, you are
 “ mute ! Surely, if the love of your country cannot
 “ loose your tongues, ought not the resolution which
 “ each of you has formed in private, either for or
 “ against Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to
 “ speak ; especially as there is none of you but knows,
 “ that it will be too late, after the resolution shall
 “ be once taken ? ”

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any of the members to give his opinion ; nor even occasioned the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though so very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. Every body continued dumb and motionless.

Aristenes then spoke again to this effect : “ Chiefs
 “ of the Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want
 “ courage more than counsel ; since not one among
 “ you, dares to speak his sentiments, with regard to
 “ the common interest. Was I a private man, I
 “ possibly might act as you do ; but being the chief
 “ magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, ei-
 “ ther that the ambassadors should not have been al-
 “ lowed to assemble us, or that they should not be
 “ dismissed without some answer. Now how will
 “ it be possible for me to make any, unless you au-
 “ thorized me by a decree ? But, since not one a-
 “ mong

“ mong you will, or dares speak his thoughts ; let us
 “ suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the am-
 “ bassadors which we heard yesterday, are so many
 “ counsels they give, not for their own interest, but
 “ purely for ours ; and let us weigh them maturely.
 “ The Romans, the Rhodians and Attalus, desire
 “ our friendship, and alliance ; and they request us to
 “ assist them in their war against Philip. On the
 “ other side, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty
 “ which we concluded with him, and sealed and ra-
 “ tified by an oath : One moment he requires us to
 “ join with him, and the next he insists upon our
 “ observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you
 “ surprized to hear those who are not yet our allies
 “ demand more than he who has long been a confe-
 “ derate ? Doubtless, it is not either modesty in Phi-
 “ lip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts
 “ them to act and speak as they do. This difference
 “ in their sentiments arises from the disparity of their
 “ strength and situation. My meaning is ; we see
 “ nothing here belonging to Philip but his ambassador ;
 “ whereas the Roman fleet lies now at anchor near
 “ Cenchreæ, laden with the spoils of Eubœa ; and
 “ the consul and his legions, who are but at a little
 “ distance from the fleet, lay waste Phocis and Lo-
 “ cris with impunity. You are surprized that Cleo-
 “ medon, Philip’s ambassador, should have advised
 “ you, in so fearful and reserved a manner, to take
 “ up arms in favour of the king against the Romans.
 “ If, in consequence of the treaty in question, and of
 “ the oath on which he lays such stress, we should
 “ require Philip to defend us against Nabis, the La-
 “ cedæmonians, and the Romans ; he would not
 “ have any answer to make, much less would he be
 “ able to give us any real succour ? This we experi-
 “ enced last year, when, notwithstanding the express
 “ words of our alliance, and the mighty promises he
 “ made us, he suffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians
 “ to ravage our lands without opposition. In my
 “ opinion,

“ opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict
“ himself, in every part of his speech. He spoke
“ with contempt of the war against the Romans, pre-
“ tending it would have the same success, as that
“ which they had already made with Philip. Why
“ then does he implore our succour at a distance, and
“ by an ambassador ; instead of coming and defend-
“ ing us in person (we who are his antient allies)
“ against Nabis and the Romans ? Why did he suffer
“ Etreria and Caryste to be taken ? Why has he
“ abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, and every
“ part of Phocis and Locris ? Why does he suffer
“ Elatia to be besieged at this instant ? Was it a supe-
“ rior strength, was it fear, or his own will, that
“ made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give
“ up to the enemy those insuperable barriers, to go
“ and conceal himself in the most remote part of his
“ kingdom ? If he has voluntarily abandoned so many
“ allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep
“ them from providing for their own safety ? But, if
“ he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the
“ same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it,
“ do you, O Cleomedon, believe, that it is possible
“ for us, Achæans, to make head against the Roman
“ arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged
“ to submit ? No comparison can be made between
“ the past and the present war. The Romans, at
“ that time, employed in affairs of greater impor-
“ tance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now they
“ have put an end to the Punic war, which they
“ sustained sixteen years in the center of Italy, they
“ do not send succours to the Ætolians ; but they
“ themselves, at the head of their armies, invade
“ Philip both by sea and land. Quintius, the third
“ consul whom they have sent against him, having
“ found him in a post which seemed inaccessible ; did
“ nevertheless force him from it, plundered his camp,
“ pursued him to Thessaly ; and took, almost in his
“ fight, the strongest fortresses belonging to his allies.
“ I will

“ I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athe-
 “ nian ambassador has advanced concerning the cru-
 “ elty, the avarice, and the excesses of Philip, is not
 “ true ; that the crimes which he committed in At-
 “ tica, do not any way affect us, any more than
 “ those he perpetrated in many other places, against
 “ the gods celestial, terrestrial, and infernal ; that
 “ we even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion, the
 “ injuries we have suffered from him. In a word, if
 “ we suppose that we are not treating with Philip,
 “ but with Antigonus, a mild and just prince, and
 “ from whom we all have received the greatest fer-
 “ vices ; would he make a demand like that of to-
 “ day, so evidently opposite to our safety and prefer-
 “ vation ? In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians
 “ should come and invade us by land, and the Ro-
 “ man fleet by sea, will it be possible for the king to
 “ support us against such formidable enemies, or shall
 “ we be able to defend our selves ? Past transactions
 “ point out to what we must expect hereafter. The
 “ medium which is proposed, of our standing neuter,
 “ will infallibly render us a prey to the conqueror, who
 “ will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who
 “ waited for the event, before we would declare our
 “ selves. Believe what I say, when I assure you
 “ there is no medium. We either must have the
 “ Romans for our friends or for our enemies ; and
 “ they are come to us with a strong fleet, to offer us
 “ their friendship, and their aid. To refuse so advan-
 “ tageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occa-
 “ sion, which will never return, would be the high-
 “ est folly, and show that we run voluntarily on
 “ our own destruction.”

This speech was followed by a great noise and mur-
 muring throughout the whole assembly, some applaud-
 ing it with joy, and others opposing it with violence.
 The magistrates called *Demiurgi* were no less divided
 among themselves. Of these, who were ten in num-
 ber, five declared that each of them would deliberate
 upon

upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people ; and the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbad both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the assembly to end. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magistrates who refused to make the report. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, intreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety ; and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him, not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last acquiesced.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed : and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who also had lately done them very considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians ; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius ; and the whole army of the Achæans march-
ed

ed to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides ; and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it ; at last Lucius acquiesced with the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board their fleets. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius the consul was employed in the siege of Elatea, where he was more successful: For, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip, still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECT. III. *Flamininus is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with Philip about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and Nabis tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sicknefs and death of Attalus. Flamininus defeats Philip in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephale in Thessaly. A peace concluded with Philip, which puts an end to*
the

the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when advice is brought, that they are restored to their antient liberty by the Romans.

(2) **N**EW consuls were appointed at Rome, but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, were justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them; Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

(a) The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent a herald to him, to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war in case he should be continued the command; or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cyliadus, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amyntander king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them, and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Pheneas their magistrate, interrupted him in these words: “We are not met here merely about words; our business is, either to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most powerful.—A blind man may see that, replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas whose sight was bad.” Philip * was very

(2) A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. 32. n. 27, & 28.

(a) Liv. l. 32. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. 17. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

* Erat dicacior natura quàm regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Liv.

fond of jests, and could not refrain from them, even in treating the most serious affairs ; a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This first interview being spent in contests, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them ; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day ; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly intreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace ; promising, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand ; and accordingly a truce was agreed, but on condition, that his troops should immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip upon several accounts ; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, (cities which he himself justly, though insolently, calls the shackles of Greece) it would be impossible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a subject that would have spun to a great length, they were interrupted, and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question ? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back, without being gratified

ed in a single demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

(*b*) Philip was now firmly resolved to make the necessary preparations of war. As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achæa, through their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but, if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possession of such of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and those who staid behind were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and chearfully were not molested; but such as were either suspected to conceal their riches, or discovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity. Nabis, having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for abolishing of debts; and the second, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.

The tyrant soon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was

(*b*) Liv. l. 3. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

master of Argos ; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree without difficulty, to such conditions of a treaty as he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted : in consequence of which the pro-consul and the king had an interview with him near Argos ; a step which seemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to a four months truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on those conditions. This alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans ; but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men, and dispossessed them of all their riches : a little after he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly, she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company ; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, she extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable moveables, and all their precious stones and jewels.

(c) When the spring was come, (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter) Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphilus the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces and unguarded : but were greatly surprized when

(c) Liv. l. 33. n. 1, 2.

they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and surprize; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous to have discovered them.

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead, so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristhenes, captain-general of the Achæans, spoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not speak much; and laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimously resolved upon; no one daring to oppose, or speak against it.

As Attalus's disorder did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention, and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

(*d*) As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died soon after, aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most great men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his do-

(*d*) Liv. l. 33. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

minions,

minions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich only, that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

(e) The armies on both sides had set out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here Polybius and Livy, who frequently copy him, show the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a greater number of branches were spread, which made them so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarce carry them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at most four branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the soldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his shoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

(e) Polyb. l. 17. p. 754—762. Liv. l. 33. n. 3, 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin. l. 30. c. 4.

Farther, the latter kind of stakes do much greater service. Those of the Greeks might very easily be pulled up. As this stake, whose trunk was large, was single and detached from the rest ; and besides, as the branches of it were strong and many in number ; two or three soldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp ; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave one with the other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans ; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarce possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, which were so closely entwined that no vacant place was left ; besides which all the ends of them were sharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not easily be removed for two reasons ; first, because it was drove so deep into the ground that there was no moving it ; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwove, that it was impossible to pull up one without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or three men put their whole strength to them, it yet was impossible for them to force the stakes away. And yet, whenever by shaking and moving them about, they at last were forced out of their places ; still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks : they were to be had every where ; could be carried with ease, and were a very strong palisade to a camp.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which turn on the usages and practice of war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints, and in my opinion I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves and were alway victorious, the two armies halted near Scotussa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarce see two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephale, which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about a thousand light-armed troops to reconnoitre the enemy ; and at the same time directed them in the strongest terms to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first, both parties were a little surprized at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to the general of what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppose the enemy, dispatched a courier to desire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately sent Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians ; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thousand men, with five hundred horse, which joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough ; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, dispatched Heraclides who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers, those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge,

and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a compleat victory, had it not been for the resistance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage and intrepidity. These were the best soldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulsed into the valley. At some distance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased either with the place or the weather, but could not refuse himself either to the repeated shouts or intreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, in this instant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians; in a word, all Asia and the whole east subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. As to the proconsul, he put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained: on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms; and, which ought to rouse their courage the more, Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired * by these speeches, the soldiers who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East ; and on the other, conquerors of the West ; the former, fired with the glorious achievements of their ancestors ; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained, prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing ; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastens towards the mountains ; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after seeing them give way, and in exceeding want of support, he was obliged to sustain them and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed ; posts them, whether horse or foot, on his right wing ; and commands the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks close on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedo-

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferentes-

que in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam et obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Justin.*

nians. The onset being begun, each side sent up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage, for, charging impetuously from those hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well closed and covered with their shields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but just arrived. As its ranks were broke and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground ; Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians ; persuaded that if he could but break it and put it in disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx ; nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle, in which its whole strength consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour ; he leaves the right where he was, (it not being in want of support) and considering the present disposition of the armies, consulting only his own reason, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced ; and the Macedonians not being able to defend themselves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle, from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a compleat victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind ; he drew off with a body of troops to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement ; but perceiving that the Romans who pursued his left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted, to wait for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent, as to send orders to Larissa, to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætolians were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape. For they amused themselves in plundering his camp, whilst the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy ; so that when they returned, they found almost nothing in it. They reproached them at first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each side loading the other with the grossest insults. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners, and the rest of the spoils, they marched towards Larissa. The Romans lost about seven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thousand, whereof eight thousand died in the field, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætolians had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory : but then they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves ; declaring without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans ; and spread this re-

port throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them, for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was still more enraged at them for their insolent reports in regard to their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderness and caution in regard to allies so useful to the Romans ; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he dissembled wisely ; had he shut his eyes and ears to many things ; and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might say or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flamininus who was at Larissa, upon pretence of desiring a truce, for burying the dead ; but, in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests ; and was so polite, as to bid the messenger tell the king, *That he desired him not to despond.* The Ætolians were highly offended at this message. As these people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own ; they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes ; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He assembled them before the king arrived, to enquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amyndrus, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty ought

ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preserve peace and liberty, even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said : That if the proconsul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken : that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom ; and that this might be very easily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons, he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander ; “ You do not know,” says he, “ either the character of the Romans, my views, or the interest of Greece. It is not usual with the Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other power, to ruin him entirely ; and of this Hannibal and the Carthaginians are a manifest proof. As to myself, I never intended to make an irreconcilable war against Philip ; but was inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed him. You yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with such a design ? How shameful were such sentiments ? When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel him with bravery and haughtiness : but when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor to show moderation, gentleness and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than formerly ; but it no less concerns their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and Gauls *, who, were they not

* A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

“ checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon
“ Greece, as they have frequently done before.”

Flaminius concluded with declaring, that his opinion, and that of the council were, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it ; and that the *Ætolians* might form whatever resolutions they pleased on this occasion. *Phineas*, prætor of the *Ætolians*, having represented in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war : “ I shall take care of that,” replied the proconsul ; “ and shall take effectual methods to put it out of his power to undertake any
“ thing against us.”

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference ; and three days after the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe ; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent. Only *Phineas* the *Ætolian* started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flaminius to urge the conclusion of the peace was, his having advice, that *Antiochus*, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of that war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months
truce ;

truce ; whereupon he received four * hundred talents from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends as hostages ; and gave him permission to send to Rome, to receive such farther conditions from the senate as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome ; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

(f) Whilst these measures were concerting, to bring about a general peace ; some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androsthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of above six thousand men : He was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares ; and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their sentiments ; some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Thessalonica.

(g) At Rome, the time for the election of consuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Mar-

(f) Liv. l. 33. n. 14—19.

196. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. 33. n. 24, & 27—29.

(g) A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C.

* Four hundred thousand French crowns.

cellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people; and public prayers during five days were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans, in the war against Philip.

Some days after, ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia; the affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to his respective views and interests; but at last, the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpose: for the people approved of Flaminius's proposal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the senate appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to settle, in conjunction with Flaminius, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome: but that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height. Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

(b) The ten commissioners who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, arrived soon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flaminius, were as follow: That all the other * cities of Greece,

(b) Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. 33. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

* This word other, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their

liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws : That Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons : That he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, (five feluccas excepted) and the galley having sixteen benches of rowers. That he should pay * a thousand talents ; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment ; Antiochus, seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, had actually resolved to carry his arms into Europe. If therefore Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace ; had the war against Antiochus been joined, in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip ; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world (uniting their views and interests) invaded Rome at the same time ; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words ; that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty, with which specious term the

* About 190000 l.

Romans covered their interested views. That they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom ; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking, was not freed from its chains ; and, at most, had only changed its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flaminius to restore all the Greeks to their liberty ; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece ; and to put strong garrisons into them, to prevent their being seized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth set at liberty ; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias ; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized ; and the expectation of what was to be there transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, was the topic of all conversations, and various constructions were put on them ; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald comes forward, and publishes with a loud voice ;

THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND
TITUS QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING O-
VERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS,
EASE AND DELIVER FROM ALL GARRISONS, AND
TAXES, AND IMPOSTS, THE CORINTHIANS, THE
LOECRIANS, THE PHOCIANS, THE EUBOEANS,

THE

THE PHTHIOT ACHÆANS, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, AND ORDAIN THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE LAWS AND USAGES.

At these * words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon, and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. But now fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium: so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him;

* Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod universi homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse: alii alios intueri mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem, quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco— iterum pronunciare eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum

clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facilè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudinè gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum. *Liv. l. 33. n. 32.*

he would have run the hazard of being prest to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years, (for he was not above thirty-three years old) and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever saw a more happy or more glorious day, than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we estimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity and justice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be, to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to many.

The remembrance * of so delightful a day, and of the invaluable blessing then bestowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, “ that there was a people in the
 “ world, who, at their own expence and the hazard
 “ of their lives, engage in war for the liberty of o-
 “ ther nations; and that not for their neighbours, or
 “ people situated on the same continent; but who
 “ crossed seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy
 “ and extirpate unjust power from the earth, and to
 “ establish universally law, equity and justice. That

* Nec præsens omnium modò effusa lætitia est; sed per multos dies gratis & cogitationibus & sermonibus revocata. Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ sua impensa, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti

junctis præstet: maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacis animi fuisse: ad effectum adducere, virtutis & fortunæ ingentis. *Liv.* n. 33.

“ by

“ by a single word and the voice of a herald, liberty
 “ had been restored to all the cities of Greece and
 “ Asia. That a great soul only could have formed
 “ such a design ; but that to execute it was the effect
 “ at once of the highest good fortune, and the most
 “ consummate virtue.”

(b) They call to mind all the great battles which
 Greece had fought for the sake of liberty. “ After
 “ sustaining so many wars, said they, never was its
 “ valour crowned with so blest a reward, as when
 “ strangers came and took up arms in its defence. It
 “ was then, that almost without shedding a drop of
 “ blood, or losing scarce one man, it acquired the
 “ greatest and noblest of all prizes for which man-
 “ kind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare
 “ at all times ; but of all virtues, justice is most rare.
 “ Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had
 “ great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining bat-
 “ tles both by sea and land ; but then it was for
 “ themselves and their country, not for strangers and
 “ foreigners they fought. That height of glory was
 “ reserved for the Romans.”

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the
 present state of affairs ; and the effects soon answered
 the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian
 games : for the commissioners separated, to go and
 put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus being returned from Argos, was ap-
 pointed president of the Nemean games. He dis-
 charged perfectly well all the duties of that employ-
 ment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the
 pomp and magnificence of the festival ; and he also
 published by a herald at these games, as he had done at
 all the rest, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good or-
 dinances in them, reformed laws, restored amity and
 concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels
 and seditions, and recalling the exiles ; infinitely more

(b) Plut. in Flamin.

pleased

pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-establish unity amongst them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; so that liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

It is related that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered at Athens by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury; and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, *I repay with usury the kindness your father did me; for I am the cause that all mankind praise him.* But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in praising, but was also of infinite service to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For, they not only freely received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the divine protection, (to use * Plutarch's expression) the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly

* Οὕτῃ περιεφαιπτομένη.

of the Greeks which was held at † Thermæ, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared; and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not shew so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

SECT. IV. *Complaints being made, and suspicions arising concerning Antiochus, the Romans send an embassy to him, which has no other effect, but to dispose both parties for an open rupture. A conspiracy is formed by Scopas the Ætolian against Ptolemy. He and his accomplices are put to death. Hannibal retires to Antiochus. War of Flamininus against Nabis, whom he besieges in Sparta; he obliges him to sue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph.*

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwise would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the same time, Philip and Antiochus: for it was evident, that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

† According to Livy, it was at Thermopylae. It is doubted whether he has translated justly Polybius in this place: ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν

Θερμηκῶν σύνοδον. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.

(i) After having established good order in Cœlosyria and Palestine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia minor, and among those of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs; and to give him the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampfacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being unable to resist so powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was soon granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the west; and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampfacus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of * *Lyfimachia* all in ruins, (the Thracians having demolished it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his second son; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capitol of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in

(i) A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. 33. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. 17. p. 769—770. Appian. de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

* *This city stood on the Isthmus or neck of the Peninsula,*

Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country; and were attended by deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole passed in civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia, which he had taken from him; that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip; it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprized at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lyfimachia; an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized. That with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him and not from the Romans they were to receive it. With respect to Lyfimachia, he declared that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lyfimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampfacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion,

passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lyfimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first went to Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning Ptolemy's death was false. For this reason he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it: but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his measures. He thought himself very happy, in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

(k) The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conspiracy's having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians, (his countrymen) imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprized of the con-

(k) Polyb. l. 17. p. 771—773.

spiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest ; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great esteem for their fidelity ; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire ; the greatest part of his treasures arose no doubt from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short ; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot be safely relied on.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties ; before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety ; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He dispatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years, appointed by the laws ; and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well : But

when

when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death, (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him) the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

(1) When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report; they told the senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: That Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet; that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of the war: That the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: That Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and therefore, having been restored, in vain, to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign; and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's steps. He had just before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested in Carthage, during six years, from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans: but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with

(1) A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. 33. n. 44—49. Justin. l. 31. c. 2.

Antiochus ; and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact ; with orders, in case the proofs should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design ; so that before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to compleat all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests : Accordingly, war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless, during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation ; but, in reality, to gain time, and spy what the enemy were doing.

(*m*) With regard to Greece, all the states, except the Ætolians, whose secret discontent I observed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in

(*m*) Liv. l. 34. n. 22, 43.

* Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaque pericula peritum ; nec

minùs in secundis adversa, quàm in adversis secunda cogitantem. *Justin.*

that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things, when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, “ You perceive, says he, that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an antient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities ; or, whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has seized it. This affair concerns the Romans only as the slavery of a single city would bereave them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece. Consider therefore what is to be done, and your resolutions shall determine my conduct.”

The assembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boasted their having entirely restored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who, (according to them) were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the subject before them ; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis tyrant of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty ; and every one promised to send a speedy succour : which was faithfully performed. Aristhenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse.

Philip

Philip sent fifteen hundred men, as his quota, and the Thessalonians four hundred horse. Quintius's brother arrived also with a fleet of forty galleys, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Agefipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta justly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies designed at first to besiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviseable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had sent for a thousand chosen soldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thousand he had already among his forces. He had three thousand other foreign troops in his service; and, besides these, ten thousand natives of the country, exclusively of the Helots.

At the same time he also concerted measures, to secure himself from domestic troubles. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and posting armed soldiers round them; after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed, (whom, he said, he had no reason to fear, provided things were quiet at home) he would release those prisoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a strong prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city du-

ring the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally, because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder: but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city; when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both sides; but at last, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence ruined the vallies, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage: however, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great stress; he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himself, had concluded with him in the war against Philip: an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans
 proscribed

professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their having never violated. That nothing had been changed, on his part, since the treaty : that he was then what he had always been ; and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just : and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose to them. Accordingly in his answer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty and tyranny : but, was he less covetous, cruel and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty ? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it ; as also, to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends ; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny : for that otherwise, no body could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored. That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans would sustain a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation ; but the true reason was, his being apprehensive that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war ; a motive, which commonly influ-

enced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. “Let us besiege Sparta,” says he, “since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprize. As you are sensible that sieges often spin out to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be so: this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege: but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter that is coming on, exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering rams, and other machines of all kinds that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with all things necessary for us. We are obliged in honour to carry on this siege vigorously; and it would be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprize.” Every one then making his own reflexions, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen; and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in consequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expence of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republic, and the interests of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed,

in concert with them, on the conditions of peace, to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: That, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops: that he should restore to the maritime cities all the gallies he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each: that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves: That he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do so: that he should give five hostages to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one: that he should pay down an * hundred talents of silver, and afterwards fifty talents annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprized, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which he reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no farther mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed in it; and that but in places which lay open, and were of easy access: all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation,

* *An hundred thousand crowns.*

and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous (consisting of above fifty thousand men, because he had sent for all the land, as well as naval forces) he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet; and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house-tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the *testudo* or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: The Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames; the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be sounded; and after having almost

almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times, by stopping up different places with works ; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many intreaties at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly, the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians and his brother (who returned to their respective fleets) repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time, because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and distributed the prizes in it ; or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives especially could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence ; had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their antient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and restored to all their privileges : but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the *Ætolians*, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful and inglorious treaty, (for so they called it) they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece. That here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst that the lawful king (meaning Agefipolis) who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment. In a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The *Ætolians*, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things; should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which properly speaking are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

(*n*) In the beginning of the spring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardor with which the Romans had complied with the intreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an

(*n*) A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 194.

alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprizes of the Roman generals his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprize that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But, as there was reason to fear, that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis; he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was; than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to send the whole army thither. That before ten days should be at an end, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth. That this would show, whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief: whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their master instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it

was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to particular persons as well as to cities; but that without moderation it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony: that so long as they should be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to distress them; that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chuses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as from a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all that were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius causing silence to be made, desired that they would enquire strictly after such Roman citizens

citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost only the Achæans an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about * twelve pounds ten shillings an head; consequently the number here amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidst the other pomp) the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's

* *Five hundred Denarii,*

car, with their heads shaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECT. V. *Universal preparations for the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Mutual embassies and interviews on both sides, which come to nothing. The Romans send troops against Nabis, who had infringed the treaty. Philopœmen gains another victory over him. The Ætolians implore the assistance of Antiochus. Nabis is killed. Antiochus goes at last to Greece.*

(c) **A**Ntiochus and the Romans were preparing for war. Ambassadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affair of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commissioners who were returned from Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprized, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and should see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintius reported what had been spoke and transacted in the conference; and intreated each of them in particular, to inform their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their li-

(c) A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Liv. l. 34. n. 57—62.

berties against Antiochus, with the same ardor and courage as they had done against Philip. Antiochus's ambassadors conjured the senate, not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree, in which the public tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but deputed to the king, Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lyfimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate, that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war against the Romans. I had observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general, contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time, (and he always persisted in it) was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: that by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but an hundred gallies, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. He declared that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he was persuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, should he not succeed in the latter, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans; that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at first, Hannibal sent a Tyrian in whom he could confide, to Carthage,

to sound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

(*p*) No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their last victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonstrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicearchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with gallies, soldiers, and sailors: That, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus: that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his antient power, as that which then presented itself: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, to take a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which he enlarged on the antient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been subdued by

(*p*) A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 192. Liv. l. 35. n. 12.

their arms : that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger : that he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army ; and that if he (Philip) unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united ; how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians ? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians : that they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him ; and the strong towns and sea-ports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time ; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and dispatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans ; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace
he

he had solicited so much. At the same time they sent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

(*q*) Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly, but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it adviseable to strengthen himself by 'good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance of so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance: that, should the Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would) he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave. For they might be

(*q*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 167. Liv. l. 35. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac p. 83—92. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

assured, that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage : that they should have much better terms from the Romans, and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event showed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt ; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the east.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he desired nothing so much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined ; or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks : That after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit, either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed

proposed in that conduct, which was by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits, to render him suspected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was in this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated answer, I have related * elsewhere, when speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics, as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his shew of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the East; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered.

* *Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.*

The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides ; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs, in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great ascendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how, and in what manner they should carry it on ; assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece. That the Ætolians, who were in the center of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans : that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them ; and that on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail, at the first signal of war, to take up arms also : that they had no time to lose ; and, that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected to the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unboomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the
eternal

eternal enemy of the Romans. “ It is this oath, says
 “ he, it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep
 “ the sword drawn during thirty six years; it was
 “ the same animosity that occasioned my being ban-
 “ nished from my country in a time of peace, and
 “ forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions.
 “ If you defeat my hopes; guided by the same hatred,
 “ which can never expire but with my life, I will
 “ fly to every part of the world where there are sol-
 “ diers and arms, to raise up enemies against the
 “ Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them.
 “ As long as you shall resolve to make war against
 “ them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of
 “ your friends: but if there are any motives which
 “ incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not
 “ of me.” Antiochus, struck with these words,
 seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it ap-
 peared evidently from their report, that a war with
 Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it
 yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not
 act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been
 the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually
 besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of
 the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a
 fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

(r) Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that
 year. He was not inferior to any captain with respect
 to land-service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Not-
 withstanding this, he took upon himself the command
 of the Achæan fleet *, and imagined that he should

(r) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 35. n. 25—30. Plut.
 in Philop. p. 363, 364.

* *The great prince of Condé*
thought and spoke much more wisely.
In a conversation upon a sea-
fight, the prince said, he should
be very glad to see one, purely for
his own instruction. A sea-officer
who was present, replied, Sir,
were your highness in a sea-
fight, there is no admiral but

would be proud of obeying your
 orders. My orders, *interrupted*
the prince; I should not presume
 even to give my advice: but
 should stand quietly on the deck;
 and observe all the motions and
 operations of the battle, for my
 own instruction.

be as successful by sea as he had been by land : but he learnt, to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions ; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved, if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprized him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the meantime Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them ; and, whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about ; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in from the rivulets and morasses, with which it abounded ; the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing

purſuing the enemy; but cauſing a retreat to be ſounded, he encamped on that very ſpot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully perſuaded, that as ſoon as it ſhould be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in ſmall parties, he poſted ambuſcades, in all the paſſes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them, ſo that Nabis hardly ſaved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after having conſiderably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with ſpoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, becauſe it was manifeſtly owing ſolely to his prudence and ability. A circumſtance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers ſhould propoſe to themſelves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult paſs; he halted, and aſked himſelf (in caſe he were alone) or elſe enquired of thoſe who were with him, in what manner it would be neceſſary to act, in caſe the enemy ſhould come ſuddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in leſs order, as when an army is on its march. What poſt would it be proper for him to take? In what places to diſpoſe his baggage, and how many troops would be neceſſary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could beſt ſecure his forage, and provide water? What rout he ſhould take the next day, after he ſhould decamp, and in what order it were beſt to march? He had accuſtomed himſelf ſo early, and exerciſed himſelf ſo much in all theſe parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and never was diſconcerted by any unforeſeen accident, but reſolved and acted immediately as if he had foreſeen

seen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain: but the only method to be such is, to love one's profession, to think it an honour to improve in it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, that have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

(s) During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare against them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition: that this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This soothing description of the state of the Grecian affairs, made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread, of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had

(s) Liv. l. 35. n. 31—34.

been given them as an hostage ; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius affected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude ; Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who (he said) ought only to be answerable for it. That the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men ; that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech ; and Eurylochus perceiving plainly, that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land ; his numerous bodies of horse and foot ; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India ; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace) the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon
all

all things as lost on that side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the wrong still more on the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assemblies some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambassador might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by acquainting it that an ambassador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then, every people would have preserved their rights, and all had not been subjected to the Roman power. “ But still, “ says he, if you execute the designs you have formed, Antiochus may, by the assistance of the gods “ and your aid, restore the affairs of Greece to their “ antient splendor, how desperate soever their condition may be.”

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves (without saying a word of the king) with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any rash resolution, in an affair of so much importance as that in question: That bold resolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: That the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: That as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims

and pretensions ; than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly : so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not so much from any hopes he entertained, of being able to make the least impression on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out ; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their wills, and merely through necessity. He began by recalling to their memories, the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans : he made a transient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it ; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints ; than out of mere wantonness to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention ; and obtained without delay, and even in presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus (then in office) was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he
had

had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time ; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tyber : so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

(1) The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very astonishing resolutions, to seize by a treacherous stratagem Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon : and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by Eurilochus's faction, who was in exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile : for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thus Thoas failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprize against Sparta was much more delicate and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thousand foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, he attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely

(1) Liv. l. 35. n. 34—39.

drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: But he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, make a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprize against Sparta.

(u) Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, but he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a public decree, to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to an hundred and twenty * talents; and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

(u) Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

* An hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind ; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such : Not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves ; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him : so that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured (but with great pain to himself) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity ; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta ; where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expence to them ; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses ; in order that being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. “ For
“ it is much more adviseable, added he, to stop an
“ enemy's mouth, than that of a friend.” Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader

compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those groveling wretches, whose whole study is to heap up riches.

(*) Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially by the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the east, brought only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men and horses, and all the sea-coasts covered with gallies: That he would spare neither expence, application, nor danger

(*) Liv. l. 35. n. 43—45.

for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the first rank in it: That with his numerous armies, there would arise from Asia munitions of every kind: that all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of a real and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had only chosen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECT. VI. *Antiochus endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his interest, but in vain. He possesses himself of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war against him, and send Manius Acilius the consul into Greece. Antiochus makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians submit to the Romans.*

(y) THE first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was with what enterprise to begin first. It was thought adviseable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians, to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to

(y) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 35. n. 46—51. Ap-
pian, in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

make it the seat of war ; but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done : that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, because that the one would always defend them against the other ; and that by this means they would hold both in respect : that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves ; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance ; whereas the king was present, and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied ; that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and was come into Greece : that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppressed by them. That as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free ; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans : that they did not refuse the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians ; but that, if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island : that they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This answer was reported to the king ; as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourse elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their assembly

sembly was held, in presence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambassador spoke first. He * was a vain man (as those generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes ;) and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an absolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vast body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting, partly of cuirassiers and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry ; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians ; and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it ; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians ; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphilia ; nations, who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world : that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him ; every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold : that they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations : that in consequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal ; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia ; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe : that nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies :

* Is, ut plerique quos opes terrasque inani sonitu verborum regis alunt, vaniloquus, maria compleverat. *Liv.*

that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect ; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then, growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip ; but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain ? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech : that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions ; he had not endeavoured to gain their esteem, but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and by their means, with the king himself : that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough : that on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed. That vaunting of troops they had not, they seduced and blew up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes ; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side (as you have just now heard) that they had defeated Philip and preserved

preserved the Romans; and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleets. “ This, says he, puts
 “ me in mind of an entertainment given me in Chalcis,
 “ by a friend of mine, a very worthy man, who
 “ treats his guests in the best manner. Surprized at
 “ the prodigious quantity and variety of dishes that
 “ were served up, we asked him how it was possible
 “ for him in the month of June, to get together so
 “ great a quantity of game. My friend, who was
 “ not vain-glorious like these people, only fell
 “ a laughing, and owned sincerely, that what we
 “ took for venison, was nothing but swine’s flesh,
 “ seasoned several ways, and cooked up with different
 “ sauces. The same thing may be said of the king’s
 “ troops which have been so highly extolled; and
 “ whose number has been vainly multiplied in
 “ mighty names. For these Dahæ, Medes, Caddu-
 “ sians, and Elymæans are all but one nation, and
 “ a nation of slaves rather than soldiers. Why may
 “ not I, Achæans, represent to you all the motions
 “ and expeditions of this great king, who one moment
 “ hurries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg
 “ for provisions and money; and the next goes in
 “ person to the very gates of Chalcis, from which he
 “ is obliged to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has
 “ very injudiciously given credit to the Ætolians, and
 “ they, with as little judgment, have believed Antio-
 “ chus. This ought to teach you, not to suffer your-
 “ selves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the
 “ faith of the Romans, which you have so often ex-
 “ perienched. I am surprized they can venture to tell
 “ you, that it will be safest for you to stand neuter,
 “ and to remain only spectators of the war. That
 “ would indeed be a sure method; I mean, to be-
 “ come the prey of the victor.”

The Achæans were neither long, nor divided, in their deliberations, and the result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the request of Quintius, they sent five hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who answered, that they would consider on what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction against the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest, where there are no enemies to make opposition?

(2) But terrible ones were making preparations against that prince. The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games, for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach would so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

At the same time they omitted no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it

(2) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 16. n. 1—15. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93—96.

at the same time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brundisium on the fifteenth of May ; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time, ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrius, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began by insisting on the necessity there was, to use the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's interest : which, he said, was so important a step, that if it succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. “ And indeed, “ says he, as Philip sustained so long the whole weight “ of the Roman power, what may not be expected “ from a war, in which the two greatest kings of “ Europe and Asia will unite their forces ; especially, “ as the Romans will have those against them in it, “ who gave them the superiority before, I mean the “ Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom only, as “ is well known, they were indebted for victory. “ Now, who can doubt but Philip may easily be “ brought over from the Roman interest, if what “ Thoas so often repeated to the king, in order to “ induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that “ this prince, highly incensed, to see himself reduced “ to a shameful servitude under the name of peace, “ waited only an opportunity to declare himself. And “ could

“ could he ever hope one more favourable than that
“ which now offers itself ? ” If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy ; which had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there. That since another course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece ; it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king ought to send immediately for all his troops out of Asia ; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who possibly might fail him on a sudden. That the instant those forces should arrive, it was proper to march towards those coasts of Greece, opposite to Italy, and order his fleet to set sail thither also. That he should employ half of it, to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy ; and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy ; and actually to do so, in case a favourable opportunity should present itself. By this means, said he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of defending their own coasts ; and at the same time, it will be the best method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Romans could be conquered. “ These (concluded
“ Hannibal) are my thoughts ; and if I am not so
“ well qualified for preading in another war, I
“ ought at least to have learnt by my good and ill
“ successes, how to act in the field against the Ro-
“ mans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended upon.
“ As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your
“ undertakings whatsoever they may be.”

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had said, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia; he immediately sending orders to Polyxenides his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him, that he could not fail of being victorious. They observed farther, that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels lost, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes several cities of Thessaly; he is however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebius the Roman prætor having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly in love with the man's daughter at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterprizes he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions, on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned an universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence.

Im-

Immediately the king set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field; the king then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the great promises of Thoas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops he had brought the year before, which scarce exceeded ten thousand men.

(a) Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him. Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs than Antiochus; who being newly married, and enervated by pleasures and voluptuousness, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had dispatched Cato, his lieutenant, with a large detachment in quest of some by-path, that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains through the same path where Xerxes, and Brennus afterwards, opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers whom he met there, he soon put them to flight.

(a) Liv. l. 37. n. 16—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96—98.

Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of six hundred Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, take to their heels, and retire towards their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant, the consul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now universally routed in a place, where there was almost no outlets to escape through ; for on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks ; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished.

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still hot and out of breath ; and cried out aloud, in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had commanded the armies in Spain : but he did not think that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him ; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, five hundred excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general, to do justice in this manner to virtue, and not

to harbour any thing so mean as jealousy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had very much doubted the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often admired, to see the heathens so very careful, in beginning and ending all their wars with solemn acts of religion; endeavouring, in the first place, by vows and sacrifices, to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards returning them public and solemn thanks, for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which (of the same antiquity with the world) has been preserved by all nations; that there is a supreme being and a providence, which presides over all human events. This laudable custom is observed regularly among us; and it is only among Christians, in strictness of speech, that it may be called a religious custom. I only wish that one practice were added to it, which certainly corresponds with the intention of superiors, as well ecclesiastical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the same time for those brave officers and soldiers, who have shed their blood in the defence of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The * consul, after his victory, discovered such a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself.

(b) Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of

(b) Liv. l. 36. n. 22—26.

* Multo modestia post victoriam, quàm ipsa victoria, laudabilior. Liv.

the least regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: that it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: that to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burnt in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four and twenty days, without the least intermission either day or night.

It was plain, that as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting but this proceeded from the over-fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, they took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time: But the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight as usual, at three that morning he assaulted the city in
three

three places only ; placing, at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move, till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty ; and those who rose from their slumbers, ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked ; and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long ; and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had answered Quintius, *that he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he had just before called in Antiochus.*

At the same time Philip was besieging * Lamia, which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour ; gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who staid very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

(c) The Ætolians, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might

(c) Liv. l. 36. n. 27, 35.

* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole people in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens run from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion of them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Pheneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture; “Your calamity,

“ mity, says he, banishes from my mind all thoughts
 “ of resentment and revenge. You now find that
 “ all things have happened as I foretold you they
 “ would : and you have not the consolation of being
 “ able to say, that none of these misfortunes were ow-
 “ ing to yourselves. But, destined, as I am, by pro-
 “ vidence to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall
 “ not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute
 “ therefore some persons to the consul, and beg a
 “ truce for as much time as may suffice for sending
 “ ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your sub-
 “ missions to the senate. I will be your mediator and
 “ advocate with the consul.” They followed Quin-
 tius’s advice in every thing. The consul granted them
 a truce, broke the siege, and marched back his army
 to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congra-
 tulate the Romans on the happy success of this cam-
 paign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods
 in the Capitol. They were received there with the
 highest marks of distinction ; and the Romans gave
 up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had
 been an hostage in their city. Thus ended the war
 which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in
 Greece.

SECT. VII. *Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus’s fleet,
 is defeated by Livius. L. Scipio, the new consul, is
 appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus. Sci-
 pio Africanus his brother serves under him. The Rhe-
 dians defeat Hannibal in a sea-fight. The consul
 marches against Antiochus, and crosses into Asia. He
 gains a signal victory over him near Magnesia. The
 king obtains a peace ; and gives up, by a treaty, all
 Asia on this side mount Taurus. Dispute between Eu-
 menes and the Rhodians, in presence of the Roman
 senate, relating to the Grecian cities of Asia.*

(d) WHILST

(d) **W**HILST the affairs I have just related passed in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus ; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who, (they declared) did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia and for Asia ; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lyfimachia, Sestus, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont ; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the Ægean sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides ; but at last Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Canna, in Æolia, drew their ships ashore ;

(d) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 36. n. 41—45. Ap-
pian, in Syriac, p. 99, 100.

and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

(*e*) Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful, as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off; reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Æolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in person with the rest into winter quarters in Phrygia.

(*f*) During these transactions, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people, so very untractable, that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option: these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate; or to pay a thousand * talents, and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans should consider as such. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew without obtaining any thing, and

(*e*) Liv. l. 37. n. 8. Appian, in Syriac. p. 100.

(*f*) Liv. l. 37. n. 1.

* About 190000 l.

were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

(g) The next year, the Romans gave the command of the land armies which Acilius had before to L. Cornelius Scipio the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus his brother had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Rhegillus.

The consul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another ; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six months truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it adviseable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal munificence. In the entertainments * he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air ; and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place,

(g) A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. 37. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syr. p. 99 & 100.

* Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant ; vi- rum, sicut ad cætera egregium, ita a comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum. Liv.

is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests, the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic ; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is ordinary, and in some measure pardonable on these occasions ; and yet, nothing of that kind appeared, in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince ; and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, but at the same time was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging carriage of the master of the feast ; and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas visa.* These personal qualities, in the sense of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusions could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had invested him with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army ; and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were superior to his own ; and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended ; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality,

ality, it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans, for the condition to which they had reduced him ; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on and submit to others.

(*b*) In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the passage of the consul's troops into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprize in the harbour of Samos ; and burnt or sunk nine and twenty of his ships, and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably ; Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with a thousand foot and an hundred horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

(*i*) The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians, singly, fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they

(*b*) Liv. l. 37. n. 9—11. & n. 18—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—103.

(*i*) Liv. l. 37. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. 8.

defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiste near Patara ; and there blocked him up so close, as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

(*k*) He sent ambassadors to Prusias king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences of that enterprize : That they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingdoms in the world, and subject them to the empire of the Romans : That after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they had resolved to attack him : That should he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the fire spreading would soon reach Bithynia : That as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters he received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance ; and he mentioned several examples of that kind, in which he himself had been concerned. He said that in Spain several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become great kings : That Masinissa, had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that

(*k*) Liv. l. 37. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 22.

the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe. That Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones : That, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay was remitted, and his son, who was an hostage in Rome, sent back to him : That as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious ; and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained, of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined, that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed, by the loss of the two battles related above ; that then, he might employ his fleets against whom, and in what manner, he pleased ; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus resolved therefore to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the best of his power, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary to another engagement, and sent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his resolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara ;

and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus, to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked it with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

(1) Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that he seemed entirely disconcerted ; and, as if he had been deprived of his senses, on a sudden he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation, he sent orders for drawing his forces out of Lyfimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia ; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lyfimachia, being very strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, and perhaps very far in the winter ; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage ; and during that interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions (of both which he had laid up very considerable quantities) behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army ; and at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very part

(1, Liv. l. 37. n. 31. Appian. in Syr. p. 104.

where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here a sensible image of what is so often mentioned in the scriptures, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. *(m) For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water.——The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the antient.——The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.* But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that * *God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason; a punishment, says he, that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity.* The expression is very strong; *God overthrew the king's reason.* He took from him, that is, he refused him sense, prudence, and judgment: He banished from his mind every salutary thought; he confused him and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what † David besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel Absalom's minister:

(m) Isaiah, c. iii. v. 1, 2, 3.

* Θεῷ βλέποντι ἤδη τὰς λογισμὰς ὅπερ ἅπασι προσιόντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται——ὃ μὴν ἔτε τὸν ἀπλὸν ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαθείας

† Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel.——Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel utile, UT INDUCERET DOMINUS SUPER

ABSA LOM MALUM. 2 Reg. c. xv. 31. & xvii. 14. O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness, 2 Sam. c. xv. 31. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel Ahitophel, TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING EVIL UPON ABSALOM. Chap. xvii, v. 14.

O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Abitophel into foolishness. The word, in the Latin version, is very strong, INFATUA: the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. *And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, the counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Abitophel: for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Abitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom.*

(n) The Romans being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the west and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendor than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted, to see themselves in the antient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

(o) When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army; it having halted for several days, that were the

(n) Justin. l. 31. c. 8.

Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 23.

(o) Liv. l. 37. n. 33—45.

Justin. l. 31. c. 7, 8. Appian. in Syr. p. 105—110.

festival days at Rome, in which the sacred shields called *Ancilia* were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii* or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet : for, being one of the *Salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worship to such improper objects ! This delay gave the king some hopes ; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now fatiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation ; especially as he had a present to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present ; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect were entirely removed : that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia : that as to Smyrna, Lampfacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand of him : that he would consent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war : He concluded with exhorting them, to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity.

rity : that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire : that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined, that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected ; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it : They were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia ; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money ; and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power if he could mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer : “ I am not surprized to find you unacquainted both with me and
 “ the Romans, as you do not even know the condition of the prince who sent you hither. If (as you
 “ assert) the uncertainty of the fate of arms should
 “ prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms,
 “ your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Lycimachia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus ; or else he ought to have met us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia with
 “ us. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the
 “ yoke on his own neck ; so that all he now has to
 “ do

“ do is, to submit to whatever conditions we shall
 “ think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he
 “ makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with
 “ that which relates to the giving me back my son :
 “ I hope the rest will not have the power to tempt
 “ me. As a private man, I can promise to preserve
 “ eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so pre-
 “ cious a gift as he offers me in my son : but as a pub-
 “ lic one, he must expect nothing from me. Go
 “ therefore and tell him, in my name, that the best
 “ counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms,
 “ and not reject any articles of peace which may be
 “ proposed to him. This is the best advice I could
 “ give him as a good and faithful friend.”

Antiochus thought, that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him ; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms. “ Go, says he to the envoys, and thank
 “ the king from me, and tell him, that at present,
 “ the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude
 “ is, to advise him not to fight, till he hears of my
 “ being arrived in the camp.” Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately ; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed

prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the river Phrygius (it is thought to be the Hermus) and posted himself near Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus; where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in fight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty four elephants: That of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but thirty thousand men, and sixteen elephants. The consul finding that the king lay still, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter-quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion: They all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of five thousand four hundred men each, and two such bodies of Latin infantry. The Romans were posted in the center,
and

and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the center was composed of * pikemen, or *Hastati*; the second of *Principes*; and the third of *Triarii*: these properly speaking composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted, on the same line, three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, three thousand horse, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted, at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The sixteen elephants were posted behind the *Triarii*, by way of corps de reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants (all those in the Roman camp being of that country) were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty two deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was this formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased

* These are the names of the three different bodies of troops of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory ; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx, was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, fifteen hundred Asiatic Gauls, three thousand cuirassiers armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called, from their arms being of silver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen ; to whom two thousand five hundred Mysians were joined. Then three thousand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that, before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with scythes were posted ; with the camels mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords (in order that the riders might reach down from the back of these beasts) were six foot long. The king commanded the right ; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew the left ; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert on account of their great extent ; and the damp occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bowstrings, the slings, and * thongs or straps which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they scarce used any but heavy arms, swords and javelins : and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

* Amenta.

The chariots armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and horse who discharged javelins, commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons ; and to pour on them from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins ; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army : for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack, so that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageously ; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their fighting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa against those animals, had learnt how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder ; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding

rounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horse, not only in front but in flank ; because that the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardise and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his soldiers to sheathe their swords in all they met, who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops which consisted of two thousand brave, well disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

(p) It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of

(p) Appian.

his

his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well-disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no use; and filled up the rest of the front with new-raised troops without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse: fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, with fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horse. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

(*q*) The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent Antipater his brother's son, and Xeuxis who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother,

(*q*) Liv. l. 37. n. 45—49. Polyb. in excerpt. legat. c. 24. Ap-
pian. in Syr. p. 110—113.

who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. “ You
 “ have always, said he to them, pardoned with great-
 “ nefs of mind, the kings and nations you have con-
 “ quered. How much more should you be induced
 “ to do this, after a victory which gives you the em-
 “ pire of the universe? Henceforward, being become
 “ equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against
 “ mortals, and make the good of human race your
 “ sole study for the future.”

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side they were never too elate from prosperity: That therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle: That Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side mount Taurus: That he should pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at fifteen * thousand Eubœan talents, and the payments were settled as follows; five hundred talents down; two thousand five hundred when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, a thousand talents every year: That he should pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the residue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, “ The Romans cannot persuade them-
 “ selves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is
 “ sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore de-

* Fifteen thousand Attic talents sterling. Those of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were something less.
 hundred and fifty thousand pounds

“ mand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as
 “ also Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent
 “ in fomenting this war.” All these conditions were
 accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The infant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, (and they declared impudently that it was so) they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

(r) The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius

(r) A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. 37. n. 47—50. Liv. l. 37. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, *Ætolia* fell by lot to *Fulvius*, and *Asia* to *Manlius*.

The arrival of *Cotta* at *Rome*, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to *Eumenes*, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of *Asia*, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors ; and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history will show, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprizes and wars ; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. *Philip* and *Alexander* his son gave the first blows to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a little before restored it to all the cities of *Greece*, after having reduced *Philip* king of *Macedonia*. The cities of *Asia*, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The *Rhodians* had sent ambassadors to *Rome*, principally to solicit that grace for the Greeks of *Asia* ; and it was immediately the interest of king *Eumenes* to oppose it. This is the subject on which the senate are now to debate, and of which the decision held all *Europe* and *Asia* in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, he opened his speech with a short complement to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in free-
ing

ing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus, (the capital of his kingdom,) by Antiochus ; and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprises of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms both by sea and land ; and on the famous victory they had just before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Asia situated on this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals, than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded ; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him ; and what he had to ask of them, assuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompence was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free, as to ask that venerable body, what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands ; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected to be gratified in all he should require, he thought it most adviseable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution ; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech. “ I should
 “ have still continued silent, did I not know that
 “ the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will soon ad-
 “ mit to audience, will make such demands as are
 “ directly contrary to my interest. They will plead,
 “ in

“ in your presence, the cause of all the Grecian cities
 “ of Asia, and pretend that they all ought to be de-
 “ clared free. Now can it be doubted that their in-
 “ tention in this is, to deprive me, not only of those
 “ cities which will be delivered, but even of such as
 “ were antiently my tributaries ; and that their view
 “ is, by so signal a service, to subject them effectually
 “ to themselves, under the specious title of confede-
 “ rate cities ? They will not fail to expatiate strongly
 “ on their own disinterestedness ; and to say, that
 “ they do not speak for themselves, but merely for
 “ your glory and reputation. You therefore will cer-
 “ tainly not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such
 “ discourse ; and are far from designing, either to disco-
 “ ver an affected inequality towards your allies, by hum-
 “ bling some and raising others in an immoderate de-
 “ gree ; or to allow better conditions to those who
 “ carried arms against you, than to such as have al-
 “ ways been your friends and allies. With regard to
 “ my particular pretensions, and my personal interest,
 “ these I can easily give up ; but as to your kindness,
 “ and the marks of friendship with which you have
 “ been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I
 “ cannot, without pain, see others triumph over me
 “ in that particular. This is the most precious part
 “ of the inheritance I received from my father, who
 “ was the first potentate, in all Greece and Asia,
 “ that had the advantage of concluding an alliance,
 “ and of joining in friendship with you ; and who cul-
 “ tivated it with an inviolable constancy and fidelity
 “ to his latest breath. He was far from confining
 “ himself in those points to meer protestations of
 “ kindness and good-will. In all the wars you made
 “ in Greece, whether by sea or land, he constantly
 “ followed your standards, and aided you with all
 “ his forces, with such a zeal as none of your allies
 “ can boast. It may even be said, that his attach-
 “ ment to your interest, in the last and strongest proof
 “ he gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death :

“ for the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the
 “ Bœotians to engage in alliance with you, occasioned
 “ the fatal accident that brought him to his end in a
 “ few days. I always thought it my duty to tread
 “ in his steps, firmly persuaded that nothing could
 “ be more honourable. It indeed was not possible
 “ for me to exceed him in zeal and attachment for
 “ your service ; but then the posture of affairs, and
 “ the war against Antiochus, have furnished me
 “ more opportunities than my father had, of giving
 “ you proofs of this. That prince, who was very
 “ powerful in Europe as well as Asia, offered me his
 “ daughter in marriage : he engaged himself to reco-
 “ ver all those cities which had revolted from me : he
 “ promised to add considerable countries to my domi-
 “ nions, upon condition that I should join with him
 “ against you. I will not assume any honour to my
 “ self from not accepting offers which tended to alie-
 “ nate me from your friendship ; and indeed, how
 “ would it have been possible for me to do this ? I
 “ will only take notice of what I thought myself
 “ bound to do in your favour, as one who was your
 “ antient friend and ally. I assisted your generals
 “ both by sea and land, with a far greater number of
 “ troops, as well as a much larger quantity of provi-
 “ sions, than any of your allies : I was present in all
 “ your naval engagements, and these were many ;
 “ and have spared myself no toils, nor dangers. I
 “ suffered the hardships of a siege (the most grievous
 “ condition of war) and was blocked up in Perga-
 “ mus, exposed every moment to the loss of my
 “ crown and life. Having disengaged myself from
 “ this siege, whilst Antiochus on one side, and Seleu-
 “ cus his son on the other, were still encamped in my
 “ dominions ; neglecting entirely my own interest, I
 “ sailed with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to
 “ meet Scipio your consul, purposely to assist him in
 “ passing it. I never quitted the consul from his ar-
 “ rival in Asia : not a soldier in your camp has ex-
 “ erted

“ erted himself more than my brother and myself,
 “ I have been present in every action whether of foot
 “ or horse. In the last engagement, I defended the
 “ post which the consul assigned me. I will not ask
 “ whether, in this particular, any of your allies de-
 “ serve to be compared with me. One thing I will
 “ be so confident as to assert, that I may put myself
 “ in parallel with any of those kings or states, on
 “ whom you have bestowed the highest marks of
 “ your favour. Masinissa had been your enemy be-
 “ fore he became your ally. He did not come over
 “ to you with powerful aids, and, at a time when he
 “ enjoyed the full possession of his kingdom ; but an
 “ exile, driven from his kingdom ; plundered of all
 “ his possessions, and deprived of all his forces, he
 “ fled to your camp, with a squadron of horse, in
 “ order to seek an asylum as well as aid, in his mis-
 “ fortunes. Nevertheless, because he has since served
 “ you faithfully, against Syphax and the Carthagi-
 “ nians, you have not only restored him to the
 “ throne of his ancestors ; but, by bestowing on him
 “ great part of Syphax’s kingdom, you have made
 “ him one of the most powerful monarchs of Africa.
 “ What therefore may we not expect from your li-
 “ berality, we, who have ever been your allies, and
 “ never your enemies ? My father, my brothers, and
 “ myself, have, on all occasions, drawn our sword
 “ in your cause, both by sea and land ; not only in
 “ Asia, but at a great distance from our native coun-
 “ try, in Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and Ætolia, during
 “ the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Æto-
 “ lians. Perhaps some one may ask, what are your
 “ pretensions ? Since you force me to explain myself,
 “ they are as follows. If, in repulsing Antiochus
 “ beyond mount Taurus, your intention was to seize
 “ upon that country in order to unite it to your em-
 “ pire, I could not wish for better neighbours, none
 “ being more able to secure my dominions. But if
 “ you are resolved to resign it, and to recal your
 “ armies

“ armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that
 “ none of your allies deserve advantages from you
 “ better than myself. But (some may observe) it is
 “ great and glorious to deliver cities from slavery,
 “ and to restore them their liberty. I grant it, pro-
 “ vided they had never exercised hostilities against you.
 “ But then, if they have been so far attached to
 “ Antiochus’s interest, will it not be much more
 “ worthy of your wisdom and justice, to bestow your
 “ favours on allies who have served you faithfully,
 “ than on enemies who have used their endeavours to
 “ destroy you ? ”

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king’s harangue ; and showed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus :
 “ Nothing, says he (directing himself to the senators)
 “ grieves us so much at this time, as to find ourselves
 “ obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that
 “ prince, for whom of all princes, both our republic
 “ and ourselves have the most faithful and most cor-
 “ dial respect. The circumstance which divides and
 “ separates us on this occasion, does not proceed from
 “ a disparity of minds, but from a difference of con-
 “ ditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. It
 “ is natural that we, being a free people, should
 “ plead for the liberty of others ; and that kings
 “ should endeavour to make all things pay homage to
 “ their sovereign sway. However this be, the cir-
 “ cumstance which perplexes us on this occasion, is,
 “ not so much the affair in itself, which seems to be
 “ of such a nature that you cannot be very much di-
 “ vided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought
 “ to show to so august a prince as Eumenes. If there
 “ was no other way of acknowledging the important

“ services of a king, your confederate and ally, but
“ in subjecting free cities to his power, you then
“ might be doubtful; from the fear you might be
“ under, either of not discovering gratitude enough
“ towards a prince who is your friend; or of renoun-
“ cing your principles, and the glory you have acquired
“ in the war against Philip, by restoring all the Gre-
“ cian cities to their liberty. But fortune has put
“ you in such a condition, as not to fear either of
“ those inconveniencies. The immortal gods be
“ praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by
“ which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables
“ you to acquit yourselves easily of what you call a
“ debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia,
“ Chersonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are
“ subjected by you. One of these provinces is alone
“ capable of enlarging considerably the dominions of
“ Eumenes; but all of them together will equal him
“ to the most powerful kings. You therefore may,
“ at one and the same time, recompence very largely
“ your allies, and not depart from the maxims which
“ form the glory of your empire. The same motive
“ prompted you to march against Philip and Antio-
“ chus. As the cause is the same, the like issue is
“ expected; not only because you yourselves have al-
“ ready set the example, but because your honour re-
“ quires it. Others engage in war, merely to dis-
“ possess their neighbours of some country, some city,
“ fortrefs, or sea-port; but you, O Romans, never
“ draw the sword from such motives: when you
“ fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance in-
“ spires all nations with a reverence and awe for your
“ name and empire, almost equal to that which is
“ paid the gods. The business is to preserve that
“ glory. You have undertaken to rescue, from the
“ bondage of kings, and to restore to its antient li-
“ berty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and still
“ more renowned for its glorious actions, and its ex-
“ quisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is
“ the

“ the whole nation you have taken under your pro-
 “ tection, and you have promised it them to the end
 “ of time. The cities situated in Greece itself, are
 “ not more Grecian, than the colonies they settled
 “ in Asia. A change of country has not wrought any
 “ alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek
 “ cities in Asia have endeavoured to rival our ances-
 “ tors and founders, in virtue and in knowledge.
 “ Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities
 “ of Greece and those of Asia: the only difference
 “ is, that we are situated at a farther distance from
 “ Rome. If a difference in climate should change
 “ the nature and disposition of men, the inhabitants
 “ of Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant
 “ and barbarous nations, should necessarily have long
 “ since degenerated; and yet we are informed that
 “ you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived
 “ in the center of Greece. And indeed, they have
 “ retained, not only the sound of the language, the
 “ dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks; but
 “ have also preserved still more their manners, laws,
 “ and genius, and all these pure and uncorrupted by
 “ their correspondence with the neighbouring nations.
 “ Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire.
 “ Every country on this side of it, ought not to appear
 “ remote from you. Wherever you have carried
 “ your arms, convey thither also the genius and form
 “ of your government. Let the Barbarians, who are
 “ accustomed to slavery, continue under the empire of
 “ kings, since it is grateful to them. The Greeks,
 “ in the mediocrity of their present condition, think it
 “ glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born
 “ and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not
 “ deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you
 “ yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength
 “ was sufficient to secure empire to them; but now,
 “ they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for
 “ ever by those people, with whom they have placed
 “ it. All they desire is, that you would be pleased to

“ protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties,
 “ as they are now no longer able to defend them by
 “ their own. But, says somebody, some of those
 “ cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others
 “ favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus?
 “ To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as
 “ well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider,
 “ O Romans, the engagements which this example lays
 “ you under. Will you indulge to Eumenes’s ambi-
 “ tion (I beg his pardon for the expression) what
 “ you refused to your own just indignation? As for
 “ us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars
 “ which you have carried on in our countries, we
 “ have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful
 “ allies; and you are to judge whether we have really
 “ been such. Now we enjoy peace, we are so free
 “ as to give you a counsel which must necessarily be
 “ glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demon-
 “ strate to the universe, that however nobly you ob-
 “ tain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler
 “ use of them.”

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech,
 and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur.
 The senate found itself on this occasion divided and
 opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose
 importance and justice they were sensible, but which,
 at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this
 occasion. On one side, gratitude with regard to the
 services of a king, who had adhered to them with in-
 violable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on
 their minds: on the other, they earnestly wished to
 have it thought, that the sole view of their underta-
 king this war was, to restore the Grecian cities to their
 liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on
 both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of
 every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after
 Philip’s defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation
 infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it
 would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as
 Eumenes;

Eumenes ; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to conciliate these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly, some days after, it also was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made them was, that the senate would dispatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to enquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted, that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes ; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested, as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request ; because Soles, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the Treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to

overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that (s) Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued it. Asia * vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the antient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour had consisted. † Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of

(s) Plin. l. 13. c. 3.

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. *Senec. de Alex.*

† Prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores
Intulit, & turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiæ molles——
Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit——

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Juven. l. 2. Satyr. 6.

Asia,

Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havock in the city than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

Reflexion on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian states, and the kings both of Europe and Asia.

THE reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean, a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent ; it reveals itself only by degrees ; and it is but by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions, shew such a moderation and disinterestedness, as (to consider them only from their outside) exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war ; after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures ; caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty ; and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans ? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives ; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such

exalted sentiments ; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy ; wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but, at the same time, very remote from that noble disinterestedness, so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy ; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers, I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia, and they were always engaged in war ; the former, to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty ; and the latter, to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well-disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs ; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe ; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire ; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy : Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To balance therefore the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and farther, to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, (as a reward for their fidelity) I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther. But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time, in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the west; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompense for all these services done their allies. By this means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of re-

conciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty ; and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to enquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels : but when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled ; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance : Thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things, from which they reaped a double advantage ; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them ; and weakened others whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly, against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them ; whether their republic was not as free and independant as that of Rome ; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct ; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn,

officiously pretend to enquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the same foot on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the least formidable: they gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable; and was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves: they increased their revenues and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded upon different pretences, those great potentates, who divided Europe and Asia. And, how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it: how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance without first obtaining their leave; banish them to the other side of mountains; and leave them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur: but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be
difficult

difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a fore-knowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see by the event, to what this so much boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world: they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, but those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECT. VIII. *Fulvius the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other consul, conquers the Asiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophecy concerning Antiochus.*

(t) **D**URING the expedition of the Romans in Asia, some emotions had happened in Greece. Amynder, by the aid of the Ætolians, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints of that prince.

(o) A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. 38. n. 1—11. Polyb. ix. excerpt. leg. c. 26—28.

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success: but, when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, were returning from thence without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to intreaties; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had also repaired. The latter having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follows: They should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans: Should pay them one thousand talents of silver, (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds) half to be paid down directly: Should

Should restore to both the Romans and their allies all the deserters and prisoners: Should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans: In fine, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip, in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes who concurred in them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the consuls had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

(u) Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium: but Philopœmen, who then was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the

(u) Liv. l. 33. n. 28—30.

Achæan league; and, that very year, he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just; yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly, without declaring his opinion.

(*) But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns called Las, and carried it, but were soon after drove out of it. This enterprize alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who, at that time, was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea-coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbid the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violaters of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephallenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to intreat him to come and take possession of it. When the

(*) Liv. l. 38. n. 30—34.

Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land ; the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul, being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome ; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome, but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer (which has not come down to us) whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta ; and, the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time ; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprize against the town of Las ; declaring that they should not be condemned or punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly, set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprized to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them ; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them

them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations: the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who almost without so much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service, should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty (and there were a great number of them) should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried wheresoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled. In fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them: and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. * Sparta had long

* Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum: altiora loca & difficiliora

aditu stationibus armatorum promunimento objectis tutabantur. *Liv.* l. 34. n. 38.

long subsisted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. (y) Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls, all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, that had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. || The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but so open a violation of the law of nations, (to

(y) In Achaic. p. 412.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum & veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse à majoribus, ut, cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra mu-

ros laterent. *Justin. l. 14. c. 5.*

† *Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls, at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.*

|| Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata. *Liv.*

which

which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it) cannot be excused in any manner.

(z) It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. (a) At last, Lepidus the consul writ a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

(b) In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question, had settled in that part of Asia Minor, called, from their name, Gallo-Græcia or Galatia; and formed three bodies, three different states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Teëtiosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposi-

(z) Polyb. in legat. c. 37.

187. (b) Liv. l. 38. n. 12—27. Polyb. in excerpt. legat. 29—35.

(a) A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C.

tion. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. “ I am no ways surprized, says he, that the Gauls should have made their names formidable to, and spread the strongest terror in, the minds of nations, of so soft and effeminate a cast as the Asiatics. Their tall stature ; their fair, flowing hair, which descends to their waists ; their unweildy bucklers, their long swords : add to this, their songs, their cries and howlings, at the first onset ; the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields : all this may, indeed, intimidate men not accustomed to them, but not you, O Romans, whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily strength ; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink down quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these the antient Gauls, inured to fatigues and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and delicacy of the people among whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated them. They now are no more than Phrygians, in Gallic armour ; and, the only circumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much honour by the defeat of a rabble of enemies, so unworthy of disputing victory with Romans.”

It was a general opinion with regard to the antient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which immediately was deadened by opposition ; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour : that their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or of withstanding the

the sun-beams, when they darted with ever so little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. (c) *Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit——Gallicorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quàm virorum, postrema minùs quàm feminarum esse.*

Those who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution and bravery than the French did at the siege of Philippsburg. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers; courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them: but even the common soldiers showed such an ardor, intrepidity and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so, by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged, and the heat of the sun; by the violence of the rains, and the inundations of the Rhine; they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack; demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumstance, but

(c) Liv. l. 10. n. 28.

their being denied the opportunity of signaling their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have rouzed at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

The King's Letter to the Marshal D'ASFEELD T.

C O U S I N,

*I Am entirely sensible of the important service you have done me in taking Philipsburgh. Nothing less than your courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to that enterprize occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that siege, and always observed that the ardor and patience of my troops increased in proportion to the difficulties that arose either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation: And I enjoin you to inform the general officers and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly satisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the same sentiments with regard to you; to assure you of
which*

which is the sole motive of this letter ; and (Cousin) I beseech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you.

Verfailles, July 23. 1734.

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered by their shouts how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy ; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles ; disputed the passes with him ; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those Barbarians, who, hitherto, had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there from the river Halys to mount Taurus ; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia minor. (d) We are told that * Antiochus said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed

(d) Cic. orat pro Dejot. n. 36. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 1.

* Antiochus magnus——dicere magna procuratione liberatus, modestus solitus, benignè sibi à populo regni terminis uteretur. Cic. Romano esse factum, quod nimis

him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

(*d*) Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulship was given to M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans six hundred talents (six hundred thousand crowns) for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was accepted, at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes, of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled their chief difficulties.

(*e*) Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria during his absence to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in

(*d*) A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188. Liv. l. 38. n. 35. (*e*) A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in excerpt. p. 298. Justin. l. 33. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. c. xi.

extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him with all his followers. (f) Aurelius Victor says that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise for his humanity, clemency and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprizes, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time, his wisdom as well as application had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept; these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprize, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

(g) *But his sons (of the king of the north) shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one (Antiochus the Great) shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress.* (h) This king of the north was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind

(f) De viris illust. c. 54.

(g) Ver. 10.

(h) See ver. 8.

him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator king of the South, that is, of Egypt; dispossessed him of Coelosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phoenicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. *He* (meaning Antiochus) *shall come. He shall overflow the enemy's country. He shall pass over mount Libanus. He shall halt, whilst overtures of peace are making him. He shall advance with ardor as far as the fortresses, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt.* Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

(i) *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand.* Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *provocatus*. At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

(k) *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousand; but he shall not be strengthened by it.* Antiochus left upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt

(i) Ver. 11.

(k) Ver. 12.

to enter the sanctuary, *his heart shall be lifted up*; and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Coelosyria and Phoenicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; *but he shall not be strengthened by it.*

(l) *For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army, and with much riches.* Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

(m) *And in these times there shall many stand up against the king of the south.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt: by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. * *Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was not long-lived: for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he

(l) Ver. 13.

(m) Ver. 14.

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

either extirpated, or drove out of the country all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophesy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostacy.

(m) *So the king of the north will come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand——*

(n) *But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.* Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. *He did according to his own will, in Cœlosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him.* Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judæa, *that glorious, or, according to the Hebrew, that desirable land.* He there established his authority; and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops in order to force it; and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and consumed by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

(o) *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* Antiochus seeing that the Romans

(m) Ver. 15.

(n) Ver. 16.

(o) Ver. 17.

under-

undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to *corrupt her*, and excite her to betray her husband: but he was not successful in his design; for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her * join with him, in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

(p) *After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.* Antiochus having put an end to the war of Coelosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land-army, to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, *the prince* of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion; that is, L. Scipio the Roman consul, *caused the reproach to turn upon him*; by defeating him at mount Sipilus, and repelling him from every part of Asia minor.

(q) *Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.* Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the east, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

(p) Ver. 18.

(q) Ver. 19.

* Legati ab Ptolemæo & Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quòd Manius Acilius consul An-

tiochum regem Græciæ expulisset, venerunt. Liv. l. 37. n. 3.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in most places, according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators; but is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity? Can any light, but which proceeds from God himself, penetrate in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt; Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprizes, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it; his conquests of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose

fidelity

fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECT. IX. *Seleucus Philopator succeeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt. Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against Philip. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to examine concerning the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair.*

(r) **ANTIOCHUS** the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant * sum (a thousand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

(s) Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy, and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the

(r. A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

(s) Polyb. in Leg. c. 37.

* About 190000 l.

ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chace, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms ; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. (1) The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœlosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him : “ Do but behold, Sir, “ the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your “ majesty may judge in what a manner his father “ gnaws your provinces.” Those words made the king laugh, and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. “ Your “ majesty need not wonder at that, replied he. For “ dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of “ the persons at your table have done, pointing to “ them : but men are contented to eat the flesh, and “ leave the bones like me.” The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out, that he had only * five ta-

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4.

* About seven hundred and fifty pounds.

lents to present, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus presented to the king an hundred boys well shaped and finely drest, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

(u) Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause, because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poison to kings) prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations, plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides, in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in

(u) A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 184. Died. in Excerpt. p. 294.

† About 3000 l.

this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

(x) To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had rose to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conduced very much to the preservation of the state.

(y) Ptolemy, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking, seems to have been very powerful and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the antient alliance with them. This he also was very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly, offered that republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents of brass. His offer was accepted, and in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's

(x) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.
183.

(y) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C.

ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. (2) King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered an hundred and twenty talents (about twenty one thousand pounds sterling) the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the antient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta; with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, con-

(2) A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 136. Polyb. in legat. c. 14. p. 850—852.

sidered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans ; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. For, in a word, (continued he,) as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident ; for, (says Apollonius) what could reflect greater ignominy on a council, than to receive annually, from a king, money for its subsistence ; and to assemble, in order to deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of his pensioners ; and in a manner rising from his table, after having * swallowed the bait that concealed the hook. But what dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a custom, should it be established ? That afterwards Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him Seleucus : That as the interest of kings differed widely from those of republics ; and as in the latter, their most important deliberations related to their differences with crowned heads, two things would inevitably happen ; either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those princes and to the prejudice of their own country ; or else, they must behave with the blackest ingratitude towards their benefactors. He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered ; and added, that it was their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such

* Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eu-

menes had of making all those who composed the council his dependants. *καὶ ἀπεπακότας οἰονεὶ δέλεαρ.*

an offer. The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew, (several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions) and no body being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

(z) Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

(a) Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly because by the articles of peace he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans however had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania and Amynander the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly which the Ætolians had seized, by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia, and by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had

(z) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185,
n. 23—29.

(a) Liv. l. 39.

somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated however to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came on one side the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhebian and Athamanians; and on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty; intreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, being less reserved and not so moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injustice, oppression and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said that, like † slaves who being made free on a sudden contrary

* Ut equum sternacem non patientem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse. L. 1.

† Insolenter & immodicè abuti Thessalos, indulgentia populi Romanorum.

trary to all expectation, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to enquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared that he had

mani; velut ex diutina siti nimis avidè meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repeatè manumissorum, licentiam

vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare sese insectatione & conviciis dominorum. *Liv.*

long

long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them ; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions ; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand * talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself ; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought this services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. “ You, “ O Romans, (says he, concluding his speech) are “ to consider upon what foot you intend to have me “ be with you. If you are determined to treat me “ as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that “ case, you need only use me as you have hitherto “ done: But, if you still revere in my person the title “ and quality of king, ally and friend, spare me, I “ beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer “ with so much indignity.”

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer ; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were ; in that case, it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner : that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them : that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judg-

* About 450000 l. sterling.

ment of the senate ; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

(*b*) The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius, coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome ; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon began to speak with the utmost vigour, in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians ; and that had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

(*b*) Polyb. in Leg. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

(c) Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whither he was withdrawn, (as he had promised Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea-coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent, to give the reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius; and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had de-

(c) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in legat. c. 42. Liv. l. 39. n. 33.

puted to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had however charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done : and they likewise cleared themselves, for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced : its walls were demolished : its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity : the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to enquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon ; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it ; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

(d) When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace ; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions

(d) Polyb. in legat. c. 44. Liv. l. 39. n. 34, 35.

* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city and all Læonia ; in de-

fault of which the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

contracted

contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they let a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip, having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. “Some,” says he, declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, “a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another.” He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. *It is to no purpose,* says Appius to him, *for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them.* These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared

clared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre: but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who, (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he had reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and

would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accordingly he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and took prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

(e) The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly, such things as they might fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had drove them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing

(e) Liv. l. 39. n. 35—37.

which had been done on that occasion : the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause ; the demolition of the walls of Sparta ; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appius. He showed first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities ; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused, for having assisted them, to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades ; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered, were owing. “ However, added Lycortas, it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus’s laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This indeed is a real fact ; but then, how can this double objection be made to us at the same time ? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety ; and to enable themselves to abolish with impunity, the discipline and regulation so happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the grave, he would be
I “ over-

“ overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and say,
 “ that he now knows and owns his native country
 “ and antient Sparta. You should not, O citizens
 “ of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the
 “ Achæans ; but ought yourselves to have pulled down
 “ those walls with your own hands, and destroyed
 “ even the slightest trace of tyranny. These were
 “ a kind of ignominious scars of your slavery : and,
 “ after having maintained your liberties and privileges
 “ during almost eight hundred years ; and been for
 “ some time the sovereigns of Greece without the
 “ support and assistance of walls ; they, within these
 “ hundred years, have become the instruments of your
 “ slavery, and in a manner your shackles and fetters.
 “ With respect to the antient laws of Lycurgus, they
 “ were suppressed by the tyrants ; and we have only
 “ substituted our own, by putting you upon a level
 “ with us in all things.

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, “ I can-
 “ not forbear owning, says he, that the words I
 “ have hitherto spoke, were not as from one ally to
 “ another ; nor of a free nation, but as slaves who
 “ speak to their master. For in fine, if the voice of
 “ the herald, who proclaimed us to be free, in the
 “ front of the Grecian states, was not a vain and
 “ empty ceremony ; if the treaty concluded at that
 “ time be real and solid ; if you are desirous of sincere-
 “ ly preserving an alliance and friendship with us ;
 “ on what can that infinite disparity, which you sup-
 “ pose to be between you Romans and we Achæans,
 “ be grounded ? I do not enquire into the treatment
 “ which Capua met with, after you had taken that
 “ city : why then do you examine into our usage of
 “ the Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered them ?
 “ Some of them were killed : and I will suppose that
 “ it was by us. But, did not you strike off the heads
 “ of several Campanian senators ? We levelled the
 “ walls of Sparta with the ground ; but as for you
 “ Romans, you not only dispossessed the Campanians

“ of

“ of their walls, but of their city and lands. To this
 “ I know you will reply, that the equality expressed
 “ in the treaties between the Romans and Achæans is
 “ merely specious, and a bare form of words : that
 “ we really have but a precarious and derivative liberty,
 “ but that the Romans are possessed of authority and
 “ empire. This, Appius, I am but too sensible of.
 “ However, since we must be forced to submit to
 “ this, I intreat you at least, how wide a difference
 “ soever you may set between yourselves and us, not
 “ to put your enemies and our own, upon a level with
 “ us, who are your allies ; especially, not to show
 “ them better treatment. They require us, by for-
 “ swearing ourselves, to dissolve and annul all we
 “ have enacted by oath ; and to revoke that, which
 “ by being written in our records and engraved on
 “ marble, in order to preserve the remembrance of it
 “ eternally, is become a sacred monument, which
 “ it is not lawful for us to violate. We revere you,
 “ O Romans ; and if you will have it so, we also
 “ fear you ; but then, we think it glorious to have a
 “ greater reverence, and fear for, the immortal
 “ gods.”

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoke like a true magistrate ; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words ; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta ; but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As

to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

(*f*) The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans, should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. (*g*) Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbance, subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. (*h*) They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported, out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

(*f*) Liv. l. 31. n. 48.
in legat. c. 51.

(*g*) In Achaic. p. 414.

(*h*) Polyb.

SECT. X. *Philopœmen besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral proccession of Philopœmen, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is succeeded by Philometor his son.*

(i) **D**INOCRATES the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league ; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out notwithstanding his indisposition ; made a counter-march, and advanced towards Messene with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight : but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths that had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery ; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words that had escaped him, upon his hearing a certain general applauded : *Ought that man, says he, to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself ?*

(i) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 283. Liv. l. 39. n. 42. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in legat. c. 52, 53.

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, *viz.* that Philopœmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved to compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude; “That the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopœmen, and his preserving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant.” But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called *the treasury*. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away; and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance towards him with a lamp in one hand and a sword in
the

the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty, (for he was very weak) sat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard almost all of them had saved themselves by flight. Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, *You bring me,* says he, *good news : and I find we are not entirely unfortunate ;* after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects ; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment their revenge of so horrid a deed ; and accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messène, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it adviseable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen, to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all

those who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's son, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem ~~was much like a~~ mournful scene, nor too

discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius; who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest: they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

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Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burnt and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser (a Roman) as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of

* This was Polybius the historian, who might then be about two and twenty.

† Thirty-seven years.

discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest: they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and as it were upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas, a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a
P 4
remedy

remedy to evils, only enflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprize which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

(*k*) I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion, Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen ves-

(*k*) Liv. l. 39. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. 10—12. Justin. l. 32. c. 4.

sels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, (informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest;) and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the gallees. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service: But when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the gallees, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; *What* *, says Hannibal, *do you rely more upon the liver of a beast than upon the counsel of Hannibal?* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

(1) I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had

(1) A. M. 3322. Ant. J. C. 132. Polyb. in leg. c. 53.

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carcuncule, quàm imperatori vetestis mavis credere?—— Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testa-

tam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit. *Val. Max.* l. 3. c. 7.

declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans in the administration of the public affairs, were very desirous of that union, which (he observed) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to show that they were disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state: and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

(*m*) The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters

(*n*, A. M. 3323. Ant. J. C. 131. Polyb. in leg. c. 54.

should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

(n) Hyperbates having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. “ When the Romans, says
 “ he, listen favourably to such complaints and intrea-
 “ ties of unfortunate persons, as appear to them just
 “ and reasonable, they, in this, act a very just part.
 “ But when it is represented to them, that among
 “ the favours which are requested at their hands, some
 “ are not in their power to bestow, and others would
 “ reflect dishonour and be very prejudicial to their al-
 “ lies; on these occasions they do not use to persist
 “ obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such
 “ allies an implicit obedience to their commands.
 “ This is exactly our case at present. Let us inform
 “ the Romans, that we cannot obey their orders with-
 “ out infringing the sacred oaths we have taken;
 “ without violating the laws on which our league is
 “ founded; and then they will undoubtedly wave
 “ their resolutions, and confess, that it is with the
 “ greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands.”
 Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Ly-

(n) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 13c. Polyb. in leg. c. 58.

fiades, and Aratus were the ambassadors, to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. “ If the Greeks, says he, directing him-
 “ self to the senators, do not obey you ; if they pay
 “ no regard either to the letters or orders which you
 “ send them, you must blame yourselves only for it.
 “ In all the states of Greece, there are now two par-
 “ ties ; one of which asserts, that all your orders
 “ ought to be obeyed ; and that laws and treaties, in
 “ a word, that all things should pay homage to your
 “ will and pleasure : The other party pretends, that
 “ it is fitting that laws, treaties, and oaths, ought to
 “ take place of your will ; and are for ever exhorting
 “ the people to adhere inviolably to them. Of these
 “ two parties, the last suits best with the genius and
 “ character of the Achæans, and has the greatest in-
 “ fluence over the people. What is the consequence
 “ of this ? Those who comply with your measures
 “ are detested by the common people, whilst such as
 “ oppose your decrees are honoured and applauded.
 “ Whereas, if the senate would show ever so little fa-
 “ vour to such as espouse their interest cordially, the
 “ chief magistrates and officers of all the republics
 “ would declare for the Romans ; and the people, in-
 “ timidated by this, would soon follow their exam-
 “ ple. But, whilst you show an indifference on this
 “ head, all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, as
 “ the infallible means of acquiring the love and re-
 “ spect of the people. And accordingly we see, that
 “ many people, whose only merit consists in their
 “ making the strongest opposition to your orders, and
 “ a pretended zeal for the defence and preservation of
 “ the laws of their country, have been raised to the
 “ most

“ most exalted employments in their country. In case
 “ you do not much value whether the Greeks are or
 “ are not at your devotion, then indeed your present
 “ conduct suits exactly your sentiments. But if you
 “ would have them execute your orders, and receive
 “ your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this
 “ matter ; otherwise be assured that they will, on all
 “ occasions, declare against your commands. You
 “ may judge of the truth of this from their present
 “ behaviour towards you. How long is it since you
 “ commanded them, by your letters, to recall the
 “ Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheless, so far from
 “ recalling them, they have published a quite contrary
 “ decree, and have bound themselves by oath never
 “ to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to
 “ you, and show, how cautious you should be for the
 “ future.”

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery ; prostituted the liberty of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the *Great king* of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independance and glory of Greece for ever ; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their domestic affairs ; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed ; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to de-

send the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking ; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, whether right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans ; a resolution, which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve us as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and to show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them ; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them,
in

in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniencies they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours; they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalled prevarication, he declares against his superiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achæa, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgment.

ment. The reader must call to mind, that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth ; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him ; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

(*o*) Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences ; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprizes ensued ; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

(*p*) Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces ; or from the allies and nations to one another. (*q*) The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young

(*o*) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 51—53—55—59. (*p*) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. (*q*) Polyb. in Leg. c. 57.

Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achæa, because when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

(r) This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article includes the space of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821, till 3840. In this interval are contained :

The first twenty years of Ptolemy Philometor's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to thirty four years.

The five last years of Philip, who reigned forty years in Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus who reigned eleven.

The eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, and the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes

(r) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

his successor, who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews.

I shall reserve the eleven years of Perseus's reign over Macedonia for the following book, though they coincide with part of the history related in this article.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against Philip.*

Demetrius, his son, who was in that city, is sent to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him.

(s) **F**ROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace as he had promised; and to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already

(s) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. 39. n. 46, 47.

mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father : but the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public ; to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials ; and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him ; but he especially showed great disgust, at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to ; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses. That, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things : that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave : That although he was going to leave Rome in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hostage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father : That out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss : and that as to the rest the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction, which the senate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only ani-

mated

mated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

(*t*) The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace : not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife ; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy ; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects ; and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or sooth the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only inflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction, with which he had been honoured in that city ; and

(*t*) Liv. l. 39. n. 53.

and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed, at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself; and, when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome. All these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

(u) However, his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their places, Thracians and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

(u) Liv. l. 4c. n. 3—5.

* *Æmathia*, called formerly *Pæonia*.

But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. (x) All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children, and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state: but Archo married a nobleman of Æenia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo dying early left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death; plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprizing resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey

(x) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 132.

them thither. Accordingly they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death, says she, only can free
 " you from your miseries: and here is what will pro-
 " cure you that last, sad refuge. Secure yourselves
 " from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you
 " like best. Go, (my dear children) such of you
 " as are most advanced in years, and take these poni-
 " ards: or, in case a slower kind of death may be
 " more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leapt into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publickly detested as a bloody tyrant ; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect ; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

(y) Perseus saw with infinite pain and affliction that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left, of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly ; which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them ; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans ; and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the

(y) Liv. l. 40. n. 5—16.

same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans ; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits ; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings ; and others, even for such of the Romans, as were in highest estimation ; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius (without considering the consequences) grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity ;
 “ Of what use, says he, can all this be to us ? We have
 “ not so much to hope from foreign aids, as to dread
 “ from domestic foes. We harbour in our bosoms,
 “ I will not say a traitor, but at least a spy. The
 “ Romans, ever since he was an hostage among them,
 “ have restored us his body ; but as to his heart and
 “ inclinations, those he has left with them. Almost
 “ all the Macedonians fix already their eyes on him ;
 “ and are persuaded, that they shall never have any
 “ king, but him whom the Romans shall please to
 “ set over them.” By such speeches, the old king's
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disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated against Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. * A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, longways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age: sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but files, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock-battle; all the men exerting themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne: several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it,

* We find, in scripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two

contrasting parties pass through the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 18.

judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings (some of which were very sharp) against those of the contrary party; without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet: but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain (if he has any remaining) by an agreeable surprize, which will show that we act with frankness and sincerity, and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried that they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy: nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment that looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius,

who was a little warm with wine, after having complained in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table ; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air ; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprized at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance ? “ It is
 “ the greatest happiness for me, answers Perseus, and
 “ by the merest good fortune in the world, that you
 “ see me here alive. My brother now no longer lays
 “ secret snares for me ; he came in the night to my
 “ house, at the head of a body of armed men, pur-
 “ posely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to
 “ secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my
 “ doors, and keeping the wall between him and me.” Perseus perceiving by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread : “ If you
 “ will condescend, says he, to listen a moment to
 “ me, you shall be fully acquainted with the whole
 “ state of the affair.” Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him ; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time, he sent for Lysimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone ; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards ; and permitted each of his

his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him : and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows.

“ Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as
 “ judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and
 “ the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide ;
 “ reduced to the sad necessity of finding, in one of
 “ them, either a criminal or a false accuser. From
 “ certain rumours which long since reached my ears,
 “ and an unusual behaviour I observe between you, (a
 “ behaviour no way suiting brothers) I indeed was
 “ afraid this storm would break over my head. And
 “ yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discon-
 “ tents and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions
 “ vanish away. I recollected that contending kings
 “ and princes, laying down their arms, had frequent-
 “ ly contracted alliances and friendships ; and that pri-
 “ vate men had suppressed their animosities. I flat-
 “ tered myself, that you would one day remember the
 “ endearing name of brethren by which you are uni-
 “ ted ; those tender years of infancy which you spent
 “ in simplicity and union ; in fine, the counsels so
 “ often repeated of a father, counsels which, alas ! I
 “ am afraid have been given to children deaf and in-
 “ docile to my voice. How many times, after setting
 “ before you examples of the discord between bro-
 “ thers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by
 “ showing you, that they had thereby involved them-
 “ selves in inevitable ruin ; and not only themselves,
 “ but their children, families, and kingdoms ? On
 “ the other side, I proposed good examples for your
 “ imitation : The strict union between the two kings
 “ of Lacedæmonia, so advantageous during several
 “ centuries, to themselves and their country ; in oppo-
 “ sition to division and private interest that changed the
 “ monarchic government into tyranny, and proved
 “ the destruction of Sparta. By what other method,
 “ than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers,

“ Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings as
“ almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity,
“ rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of
“ Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I
“ even did not scruple to cite examples from the Ro-
“ mans, of which I myself had either been an eye-
“ witness, or heard from others: as the two brothers
“ Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged
“ in war with me: the two Scipios, Publius and Lu-
“ cius, who defeated and subjected Antiochus: their
“ father and their uncle, who having been insepara-
“ ble during their lives, were undivided in death.
“ Neither the crimes of the one, though attended
“ with such fatal consequences; nor the virtues of
“ the other, though crowned with such happy suc-
“ cess, have been able to make you abhor division and
“ discord, and to inspire you with gentle and pacific
“ sentiments. Both of you, in my life-time, have
“ turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my
“ throne. You will not suffer me to live, till sur-
“ viving one of you, I secure my crown to the other
“ by my death. The fond names of father and
“ brother are insupportable to both. Your souls are
“ strangers to tenderness and love. A restless desire
“ of reigning has banished all other sentiments from
“ your breasts, and entirely engrosses you. But come,
“ let me hear what each of you have to say. Pol-
“ lute the ears of your parent with real or feigned
“ accusations. Open your criminal mouths; vent
“ all your reciprocal slanders, and afterwards, arm
“ your parricide hands one against the other. I
“ am ready to hear all you have to say; firmly de-
“ termined to shut my ears eternally from henceforth
“ against the secret whispers and accusations of bro-
“ ther against brother.” Philip having spoke these
last words with great emotion and an angry tone of
voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long
time in a mournful silence.

At

At last, Perseus spoke as follows. “ I perceive
 “ plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in
 “ the dead of night ; to have admitted the assassins in-
 “ to my house, and presented my throat to their
 “ murderous swords, since guilt is never believed,
 “ till it has been perpetrated ; and since I, who was
 “ so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious
 “ reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too
 “ much reason to say, that you consider Demetrius
 “ only as your true son ; whilst unhappy I am looked
 “ upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or
 “ even an impostor. For, did your breast glow with
 “ the tenderness which a father ought to have for his
 “ child, you would not think it just to inveigh so
 “ bitterly against me, (for whose life so many snares
 “ have been laid) but against him who contrived
 “ them ; and you would not think my life so incon-
 “ siderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the immi-
 “ nent danger I escaped ; nor to that to which I shall
 “ be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suf-
 “ fered to go unpunished. If I must die without be-
 “ ing suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so ;
 “ let me leave the world in silence, and be contented
 “ with beseeching the gods in my expiring moments,
 “ that the crime which was begun in my person, may
 “ end in it, and not extend to your sacred life. But if
 “ (what nature inspires in those, who seeing them-
 “ selves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the
 “ assistance even of strangers to them) I may be al-
 “ lowed to do with regard to you on the present oc-
 “ casion : if, when I see swords drawn round me, in
 “ order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to
 “ vent forth a plaintive and supplicating voice ; I con-
 “ jure you by the tender, the dear name of ‘ father,
 “ (for which, whether my brother or I have had the
 “ greatest reverence, you yourself have long known)
 “ to listen to me at this time, as if, awaked suddenly
 “ from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last
 “ night, chance had brought you at the instant of

“ my danger, and in the midst of my complaints ;
“ and that you had found Demetrius at my door, at-
“ tended by persons in arms. What I should have
“ told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and
“ seized with fear, I say to you now.

“ Brother, it is long since we have not behaved
“ towards one another, like persons desirous of sharing
“ in parties of pleasure. You are fired with an insa-
“ tiable thirst of reigning, but you find an invincible
“ obstacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient
“ customs of Macedonia ; and, a still stronger cir-
“ cumstance, my father’s will and pleasure. It will
“ be impossible for you ever to force these barriers,
“ and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your
“ hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends,
“ you employ instruments of all kinds, and set every
“ engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my
“ good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody
“ hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the cere-
“ mony of the tournament which followed it, the
“ battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody
“ and fatal ; and, had I not suffered myself and my
“ followers to be defeated, you would have sent me
“ to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies,
“ you insidiously wanted (as if what had passed had
“ been only the diversion of brothers) to allure me
“ to your feast. Can you suppose (royal father) that
“ I should have met with unarmed guests there, as
“ those very guests came to my palace, completely
“ armed, at so late an hour ? Can you imagine that,
“ favoured by the gloom, they would not have strove
“ to plunge their daggers in my heart ; as the same
“ persons, in open day, and before your eyes, almost
“ killed me with their wooden weapons ? How !
“ You, who are my professed enemy ; you, who are
“ conscious that I have so much reason to complain
“ of your conduct ; you, (I say) come to me in the
“ night, at an unseasonable hour, and at the head of
“ a company of armed young men ? I did not think
“ it

“ it safe for me to go to your entertainment ; and
 “ should I receive you in my house at a time when,
 “ heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well
 “ attended? Had I then opened my door (royal sir)
 “ you would be preparing to solemnize my funeral,
 “ at this very instant in which you vouchsafe to hear
 “ my complaints. I do not advance any thing du-
 “ bious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For can
 “ Demetrius deny but that he came to my house, at-
 “ tended by a band of young people, and that some
 “ of them were armed? I only desire to have those
 “ whom I shall name sent for. I believe them capa-
 “ ble of any thing ; but yet they cannot have the as-
 “ surance to deny the fact. Had I brought them
 “ before you, after seizing them armed in my house,
 “ you would be fully convinced of their guilt : and
 “ surely their own confession ought to be a no less
 “ proof of it.

“ You call down imprecations and curses upon im-
 “ pious sons who aspire to your throne : this (august
 “ sir) you have great reason to do : but then I beseech
 “ you not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at
 “ random. Distinguish between the innocent and
 “ the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbarous
 “ design of murdering his brother, feel the dire effects
 “ of the anger of gods, the avengers of paternal au-
 “ thority : but then let him, who, by his brother’s
 “ guilt, was brought to the brink of destruction, find
 “ a secure asylum in his father’s tenderness and jus-
 “ tice. For where else can I expect to find one ; I,
 “ to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the
 “ solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the
 “ festival, nor the hours of night allotted by the gods
 “ to the repose of man, could afford the least security?
 “ If I go to the entertainment to which my brother
 “ invites me, I am a dead man ; and it will be equal-
 “ ly fatal to me, if I admit him into my house,
 “ when he comes thither at midnight. Snares are
 “ laid for me wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush

“ for me wherever I move ; to what place then can
“ I fly for security ?

“ I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to
“ you, my royal father. I never made my court to
“ the Romans, and cannot have recourse to them.
“ There is nothing they more earnestly wish than
“ my ruin, because I am so much affected with their
“ injustice to you ; because I am tortured to the soul,
“ and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed
“ of so many cities and dominions ; and, lately, of
“ the maritime coasts of Thrace. They cannot flat-
“ ter themselves with the hopes of ever making them-
“ selves masters of Macedonia as long as you or I am
“ in being. They are sensible that, should I die by
“ my brother’s guilt, or age bring you to the grave ;
“ or they not wait the due course of nature ; that
“ then the king and kingdom will be at their dis-
“ posal.

“ Had the Romans left you the possession of some
“ city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon,
“ I possibly might have had some opportunity of re-
“ tiring to it. But, will it be answered, I shall find
“ a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedo-
“ nians. You yourself, royal father, saw, with
“ what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked
“ me in the battle. What was wanting, for my
“ destruction, but swords of steel ? However, the
“ arms they wanted, my brother’s guests assumed in
“ the night. What shall I say of a great part of the
“ principal persons of your court ; who ground all
“ their hopes on the Romans, and on him who is all-
“ powerful with them ? They are not ashamed to
“ prefer him not only to me, who am his elder bro-
“ ther ; but, I might almost say it, to you who are
“ our king and father. For they pretend it is to him
“ you are obliged to the senate for remitting you some
“ of those things which they otherwise would have
“ required : it is he who now checks the Romans,
“ and prevents their advancing, in a hostile manner,

“ INTO

“ your kingdom: in fine, if they may be believed,
 “ your old age has no other refuge, but the protection
 “ which your young son procures you. On his side
 “ are the Romans, and all the cities which have been
 “ dismembred from your dominions, as well as all
 “ such Macedonians, whose dependence, with regard
 “ to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But with
 “ respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious to have
 “ no other protector but my royal father, and to
 “ place all my hopes in him alone.

“ What do you judge to be the aim and design of the
 “ letter you lately received from Quintius, in which he
 “ declares expressly, that you acted prudently for your
 “ interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome; and,
 “ wherein he exhorts you to send him back thither
 “ accompanied by other ambassadors, and a greater train
 “ of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is now every
 “ thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his
 “ counsels, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting
 “ that you are his father, he seems to have substi-
 “ tuted him in your place. It is in the city of Rome,
 “ and in his sight he formed the secret and clandestine
 “ designs which will soon break out in action. It is
 “ merely to have the better opportunity of putting
 “ them in execution, that Quintius orders you to
 “ send along with Demetrius, a greater number of
 “ the Macedonian nobility. They set out from this
 “ country, with the most sincere attachment to your
 “ person and interest: but won by the gracious treat-
 “ ment they meet with in that city, they return from
 “ it entirely corrupted and debauched by different sen-
 “ timents. Demetrius is all in all with them: they
 “ even presume, in your life-time, to give him the
 “ title of king. If I appear shocked at this conduct,
 “ I have the grief to see, not only others, but your-
 “ self (my royal father) charge me with the horrid
 “ design of aspiring to your throne. Should this accu-
 “ sation be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my
 “ own innocence, and it cannot in any manner affect
 “ me.

“ me. For who, in that case, should I dispossess, to
 “ seize upon what would be another’s right ? There is
 “ no one but my father between me and the throne ;
 “ and I beseech the gods that he may long continue
 “ so. In case I should happen to survive him, (and
 “ this I would not wish, but so long as he should de-
 “ sire it) I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be
 “ his good pleasure. HE may be accused of aspiring
 “ to the throne, and of aspiring in the most unjust
 “ and criminal manner, who is impatient to break
 “ the order and bounds prescribed by age, by nature,
 “ by the usages and customs of Macedonia, and by
 “ the law of nations. My elder brother (says Deme-
 “ trius to himself) to whom the kingdom belongs both
 “ by the right of seniority, and my father’s will, is
 “ an obstacle to my ambitious views.——What then
 “ must be done ?——I must dispatch him.——I shall
 “ not be the first who has waded through a brother’s
 “ blood, to the throne. My father, in years and
 “ without support, will be too much afraid for his
 “ own life, to meditate revenge for his son’s death.
 “ The Romans will be greatly pleased to see me on
 “ the throne ; they will approve my conduct, and be
 “ able to support me.——I own, (most gracious fa-
 “ ther) these projects may all be defeated, but I am
 “ sure they are not without foundation. In a word,
 “ I reduce all to this : It is in your power to secure
 “ my life, by bringing to condign punishment, those
 “ who yesterday armed to assassinate me : but, should
 “ their guilt take effect, it will not be in your power
 “ to revenge my death.”

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the
 company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate
 that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately.
 But that young prince, being quite oppressed with
 sorrow, shedding floods of tears, and seeming unable
 to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed
 to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity,
 and spoke as follows.

“ Perseus

“ Perseus, (royal Sir) by accusing me in your
 “ presence, and by shedding fictitious tears to move
 “ you to compassion, has made you suspect mine,
 “ which alas ! are but too sincere ; and by that means
 “ deprived me of all the advantages the accused ge-
 “ nerally have. Ever since my return from Rome,
 “ he has been day and night laying snares for me, in
 “ secret cabals with his creatures ; and yet he repre-
 “ sents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambus-
 “ cades to destroy him, but attacking him by open
 “ force, and persons in arms. He endeavours to
 “ alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround
 “ him, in hopes that you will put to death his inno-
 “ cent brother. He declares that he has no refuge,
 “ no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding
 “ one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary
 “ and abandoned state to which I see myself reduced,
 “ quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make
 “ me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign cre-
 “ dit and support, which are rather a prejudice than
 “ a service to me.”

“ Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art
 “ he has blended and confounded the transactions of
 “ last night with every other circumstance of my life ;
 “ and this in a double view, first to raise a suspicion
 “ in you of my conduct in general from this last action,
 “ the innocence of which will soon be evident ; and
 “ secondly, to support, by this idle story of a noctur-
 “ nal attack, his equally idle accusation, of my har-
 “ bouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At
 “ the same time he has endeavoured to show, that
 “ this accusation was not premeditated or prepared ;
 “ but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with
 “ which he was seized, occasioned by last night's tu-
 “ mult. But, Perseus, if I had attempted to betray
 “ my father and his kingdom ; had I engaged in
 “ conspiracies with the Romans, and with the ene-
 “ mies of the state, you ought not to have waited for
 “ the opportunity of the fictitious story of last night's
 “ transaction,

“ transaction, but should have impeached me before
“ this time of such treason. If the charge of treason,
“ when separated from the other, was altogether
“ improbable, and could serve to no other purpose but
“ to prove how much you envy me, and not to
“ evidence my guilt ; you ought not to have mentio-
“ ned it now, but should have postponed that charge
“ to another time ; and have examined now this
“ question only, whether you laid snares for me, or I
“ for you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as the
“ confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen ac-
“ cusation has thrown me will permit, to separate
“ and distinguish what you have thrown together in-
“ discriminately ; and to show whether you or my-
“ self ought in justice to be accused of dealing treache-
“ rously last night.

“ Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to as-
“ sassinate him, in order that, by the death of my el-
“ der brother, to whom the crown appertains by the
“ right of nations, by the customs of Macedonia, and
“ even, as he pretends, by your determination ; I,
“ though the younger son, might succeed to the
“ throne. To what purpose therefore is that other
“ part of his speech, where he declares, that I have
“ been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with
“ the Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of
“ being able to ascend the throne by their assistance ?
“ For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough
“ to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever
“ they pleased ; and if I relied so much on my cre-
“ dit and authority with them, why should I commit
“ a fratricide of no advantage to myself ? What !
“ should I have affected to surround my temples with
“ a diadem, dyed with my brother’s blood, merely
“ that I might become odious and execrable, even to
“ those with whom I had acquired some authority
“ (admitting I have some credit with them) by a pro-
“ bity either real or dissembled ? Unless you can sup-
“ pose that Quintius, whose counsel I am accused of
“ following

“ following (he, I say, who lives in so delightful a
 “ union with his brother) suggested to me the hor-
 “ rid design of embruing my hands in my brother’s
 “ blood. Perseus has summed up all the advantages,
 “ by which (as he would insinuate) I can promise
 “ myself a superiority over him, such as the credit of
 “ the Romans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and
 “ the almost universal consent of gods and men ; and
 “ yet he, at the same time, (as if I was inferior to
 “ him in all respects) charges me with having re-
 “ course to an expedient which none but the blackest
 “ villains could employ. Will you, gracious sir, have
 “ us judged upon this principle and rule, that which-
 “ soever of us two was apprehensive that the other
 “ would be judged more worthy of the diadem, shall
 “ be declared to have formed the design of murdering
 “ his brother” ?

“ But let us come to facts, and examine the order
 “ and plan of the criminal enterprize with which I
 “ am charged. Perseus pretends to have been attack-
 “ ed in different manners, all which are however in-
 “ cluded within the space of one day. I attempted
 “ (as he says) to murder him in broad day-light, in
 “ the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of
 “ the review. I had determined to poison him at an
 “ entertainment to which I had invited him ; in fine,
 “ I resolved to attack him with open force, in the
 “ dead of night, attended by armed persons to a party
 “ of pleasure at his house.

“ You see, Sir, the season I had chosen to com-
 “ mit this fratricide ; a tournament, a banquet, a
 “ party of pleasure. How venerable and solemn was
 “ this day ! A day on which the army is reviewed,
 “ on which the resplendent arms of all the Macedo-
 “ nian monarchs are carried in the front of the pro-
 “ cession ; on which it passes through the two parts
 “ of the sacred victim ; and on which we have the
 “ honour to march with you, at the head of the
 “ whole Macedonian people. What ! though puri-
 “ fied

“ fied by this august sacrifice, from all faults I might
 “ before have committed ; having before my eyes the
 “ sacred victim through which we passed, was my
 “ mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers !
 “ Defiled in such a manner by crimes of the most hor-
 “ rid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims,
 “ would it have been possible for me to purify
 “ myself ?

“ It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a
 “ blind passion to calumniate and destroy me, in his
 “ endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a
 “ crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For
 “ (brother) had I formed the abominable design of
 “ poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill
 “ judged than to exasperate you, and to put you upon
 “ your guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should
 “ have discovered that I had designs of violence a-
 “ gainst you ; and, by that means, have prevented
 “ your coming to an entertainment to which I had
 “ invited you, and at which you accordingly refused
 “ to be present ? But surely, after such a refusal, should
 “ I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you ;
 “ and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison,
 “ ought I not to have sought another opportunity for
 “ giving you the fatal draught ? Was it natural for
 “ me to change suddenly (in one day) my barbarous
 “ design, and to attempt to assassinate you, upon pre-
 “ tence of going to your house on a party of plea-
 “ sure ? Could I reasonably flatter myself with the
 “ hopes (taking it for granted that the fear of your
 “ being murdered had made you refuse to come to
 “ my entertainment) that the same fear would not
 “ induce you to refuse me admittance into your
 “ house ?

“ I presume, Sir, I may confess to you without
 “ blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing,
 “ happening to be in company with some people of
 “ the same age with myself, I drank more plentifully
 “ than usual. Enquire, I beseech you, how we spent
 “ our

“ our time at the feast, how full of mirth we were,
 “ how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very much
 “ heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for
 “ the victory we had gained in the tournament. It
 “ is the sad condition of an unforeseen accusation ; it
 “ is the danger in which I now see myself involved,
 “ that have dispelled but too easily the fumes of wine :
 “ otherwise, a calm assassin, my eyes had still been
 “ closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to
 “ attack your house with the view of murdering you,
 “ would it not have been possible for me to abstain,
 “ for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to
 “ keep my companions from the like excess ?

“ But, that it may not be thought that I, only, act
 “ with frankness and simplicity, let us here my bro-
 “ ther, whose conduct is sincere and undisguised, and
 “ who does not harbour the least suspicion. All, says
 “ he, that I know, and the only thing I have to com-
 “ plain of, is, that they came armed to my house,
 “ upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure.
 “ Should I ask you how you came to know this, you
 “ will be forced to own, either that my house was
 “ filled with spies sent by you, or else that my atten-
 “ dants had taken up arms in so open a manner, that
 “ every one knew of it. What does my brother do ?
 “ That he may not seem to have formerly watched
 “ all my motions ; nor at this time, to ground his
 “ accusation merely on suppositions, he beseeches you
 “ to enquire of those whom he shall name, whether
 “ people did not come armed to his house ; in order
 “ that, (as if this were a doubtful circumstance) af-
 “ ter this enquiry into an incident which they them-
 “ selves own and confess, they may be considered as
 “ legally convicted. But is this the question ? Why
 “ do not you desire an enquiry to be made whether
 “ they took up arms to assassinate you, and if they
 “ did it with my knowledge, and at my request ? For
 “ it is this you pretend ; and not what they them-
 “ selves own publickly, and which is very man

that

“ that they took up arms in no other view but to de-
 “ fend themselves. Whether they had or had not
 “ reason to arm themselves, that they are to inform
 “ you. Do not blend and confound my cause with
 “ theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate.
 “ Only tell us, whether we really intended to attack
 “ you openly or by surprize. If openly, why did
 “ we not all take up arms? Why were those only
 “ armed who had insulted your spy? In case it was
 “ to have been by surprize, in what manner would
 “ the attack have been made? Would it have been at
 “ the end of the feast in your house, and after I had
 “ left it with my company, would the four men in
 “ question have staid behind, to have fallen upon you
 “ when asleep? How would it have been possible for
 “ them, as they were strangers, in my service, to con-
 “ ceal themselves in your house; and as they could
 “ not but be very much suspected, having been seen
 “ but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel? A-
 “ gain, supposing they had found an opportunity to
 “ murder you, in what manner could they have e-
 “ scaped? Could four men armed, have been able to
 “ make themselves masters of your house?

“ But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come
 “ to what really pains you, and which you have so
 “ much at heart: For what reason (methinks I hear
 “ my brother say) wherefore (O Demetrius) do the
 “ people talk of making you king? Why do some
 “ persons think you more worthy than I, of succeed-
 “ ing our father? Why do you make my hopes doubt-
 “ ful and uncertain, which, were it not for you,
 “ would have been established on the most solid foun-
 “ dation? ————— Such are the reflections which Per-
 “ seus revolves in his mind, though he does not express
 “ himself in this manner: It is this raises his enmity
 “ against me, and prompts him to charge me with
 “ such horrid attempts: It is this fills the palace, and
 “ every part of the kingdom, with suspicions and ac-
 “ cusations. If it does not become me, Sir, so much

“ as to hope the scepter, nor perhaps ever to think of
 “ contesting it, because it is your will and pleasure
 “ that I should yield to my elder brother ; it does not
 “ follow that I ought to make myself appear unwor-
 “ thy of it, either to * you (my royal father) or
 “ to all the Macedonians : a circumstance which no-
 “ thing but my ill conduct could occasion. I can in-
 “ deed, through moderation, resign it to whom it
 “ belongs ; but I cannot prevail with myself to re-
 “ nounce my virtue and good name.

“ You reproach me with the affection of the Ro-
 “ mans, and impute that to me for a crime which
 “ ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to
 “ Rome, neither as an hostage at first, nor afterwards
 “ as ambassador : This, Sir, you yourself very well
 “ know. When you ordered me to go thither, I
 “ obeyed your commands ; and I believe my conduct
 “ and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least
 “ dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the
 “ Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, Sir,
 “ that occasioned the friendship I have contracted
 “ with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace
 “ with them, so long our friendship will subsist : but
 “ the moment the trumpet sounds for war, though I
 “ have been an hostage among them, and exercised
 “ the functions of an ambassador in such a manner as
 “ perhaps has not been disadvantageous to my father ;
 “ from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself
 “ their enemy. I do not desire to reap any benefit on
 “ the present occasion, from the love which the Ro-
 “ mans have for me ; all I intreat is, that it may
 “ not be of prejudice to me. It was not begun in
 “ war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As an hos-
 “ tage and an ambassador, peace was my only object :
 “ let that be neither considered in me as a crime or a
 “ merit.

* *Instead of indignus te patre, Gronovius reads, indignus tibi pater ; which seems to agree better with the context.*

“ If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I
 “ owe you, Sir ; if I have formed any criminal en-
 “ terprize against my brother, let me be punished as I
 “ deserve : but if I am innocent, this I claim ; that
 “ as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may
 “ not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time
 “ that my brother has charged me with harbouring
 “ horrid designs ; but it is the first time he has at-
 “ tempted to do it openly, tho’ without the least foun-
 “ dation. Was my father exasperated against me, it
 “ would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to inter-
 “ cede for your younger brother ; to solicit his par-
 “ don, to intreat that some regard might be shown
 “ to his youth ; and that a fault, which had been
 “ committed merely through inadvertency, might be
 “ overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quar-
 “ ter, whence I might naturally have expected my
 “ safety.

“ Though not quite awake, after the feast and
 “ party of pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sud-
 “ den, to answer a charge of fratricide ; and am forced
 “ to plead my own cause, unassisted by counsellors,
 “ and unsupported by the advice or credit of a single
 “ person. Had I been to speak in favour of another,
 “ I should have taken time to prepare and compose
 “ my discourse ; and yet, on such an occasion, my
 “ reputation only would have laid at stake, and I
 “ should have had nothing to do but to display my
 “ wit and eloquence.——At this instant, without
 “ knowing the cause for which I am ordered to ap-
 “ pear in this place, I hear an offended father, com-
 “ manding me to make my defence ; and a brother
 “ charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus
 “ has had all the time he could desire to prepare his
 “ accusation, whilst unhappy I did not so much as
 “ know what the business was, till the very instant
 “ the accusation was brought against me. In this
 “ rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my
 “ accuser, than studious of my own apology ? Sur-

“ prized

“ prized by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I
 “ could scarce comprehend what was laid to my
 “ charge, so far from being able to know how to
 “ make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could
 “ I have left, did I not know that it is my royal fa-
 “ ther who is to judge ? He may show a greater af-
 “ fection for my brother, as the elder ; but he owes
 “ more compassion to me, as being the party accused :
 “ I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your
 “ own sake and mine ; whereas Perseus insists upon
 “ your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you
 “ not naturally expect from him when you shall once
 “ have invested him with your authority, as he now
 “ demands your favour in preference to me, at no
 “ less a price than my blood ? ”

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs, and groans intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends ; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them :
 “ I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from
 “ mere words and a few transient speeches, but from
 “ the enquiry I shall make into your conduct ; from
 “ your behaviour in small as well as great things, and
 “ from your words as well as actions.” This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother’s life, Philip however suspected him from his union with the Romans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the war, that appeared in Philip’s life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

(a) The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to enquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius ; and to enquire secretly into what he had said there, (particularly to Quintius)

(a) A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. 43. n. 20—24.

with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party ; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, (his brother's accusation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father ; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter ; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner : but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus, the Black sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it ; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia ; appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly ; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions,
in

in the most odious light to his father ; and offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means, (for it was necessary to pass through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip ; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his enquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion ; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public ; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given, to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them ; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, “ not to be offended at his
“ son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions
“ which might have escaped him, with respect to the
“ succession to the crown ; assuring him that he would
“ not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of
“ blood and nature.” He concluded with observing,
“ that it was never in his thoughts to give him such
counsel.”

counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Pæonia; and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publickly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrius, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

(*b*) Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king; and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to

(*b*) A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. Liv. l. 40. n. 54—57.

him

him to see his old age despised ; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian ; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him ; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought ; and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition ; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome ; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flaminius, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged ; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immedi-

* He was surnamed Dofon.

ately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. “ I imagined, (says he) “ royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, “ that nothing could give you greater pleasure, than “ to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain “ of your two sons ; and to discover which of them “ it was that made an attempt on the other’s life. “ You now have in your power, the man who is best “ able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for.” Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing ; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized ; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip ; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy ; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. “ Reduced, says Philip, to the deplorable
“ necessity of wishing that my fate, which other
“ fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can
“ befall them (the being childless ;) I now am re-
“ solving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe
“ to the guardianship of your uncle ; and which he
“ not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged con-
“ siderably by his valour. I know no man worthy
“ of the crown but yourself. And were there none
“ capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infi-
“ nitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Per-
“ seus should have it, as the reward of his impious
“ perfidy. Methinks I shall see Demetrius rise from
“ the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can
“ be so happy as to substitute you in his place ; you,
“ who only bewailed the untimely death of my dear
“ son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his
“ destruction.”

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection : and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he

tell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake ; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last ; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus ; it having been agreed between them that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose ; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprized all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connexion with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large and without interruption.

SECT. II. *The death of Seleucus Philopator, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who was Antiochus's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Evergetes, surnamed also Physcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers.*

SEleucus Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of (c) Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprizes, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he

(c) 2 Maccab. iii.

might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true. The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver, (about fifty thousand pounds sterling) and in two hundred talents of gold (three hundred thousand pounds sterling.) However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. But the * spirit of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible marks; insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore-feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horse, was taken up, and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that, because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without showing the least sign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now, some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is for his sake that the Lord has granted you life. After having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world

* Sed spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiam.

“ his miraculous power.” Having spoke these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way ; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered: “ In case you have any enemy, or any traiterous
“ wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him
“ thither, and you will see him return back quite
“ dead with scourging, and he perhaps may die under
“ it. For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himself
“ present in that place: he is the guardian and pro-
“ tector of it ; and he strikes those mortally who go
“ thither to injure it.”

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great, having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. (*d*) He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known, (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing ;) and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age to Rome, as an hostage in Antiochus’s room. (*e*) During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it ; Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus, and accordingly he poisoned him.

(*d*) Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

(*e*) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, (f) *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days * he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. *There shall arise up in his place (of Antiochus) a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy the glory of the kingdom.* And indeed, this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand † talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

(g) Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21 of chapter xi, to the end of chapter xii, foretels every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the (h) *little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns.* I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

(f) Dan. xi. 20.
Hieron. in Dan.

(g) Appian. in Syr.p. 116, 117.
(h) Dan. viii. 9.

* The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

† About 150000 l.

Here, (chap. xi. verse 21.) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom : but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* Antiochus's conduct shall show how *vile* he was. It is said, *that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom.* He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, nor by the free choice of the people ; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west *peaceably (or rather secretly)* to surprize his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

(i) He assumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is *illustrious*, which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of *Epimanes (mad or furious)* which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him prove how justly the epithet *vile* is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops ; and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go (without saying a word to any person) and join in all their wanton fooleries ; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least

(i) Athen. l. 5. p. 193.

order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe ; and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another ; and sometimes would set up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair*, when seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling ; and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking ; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch ; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently scower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *catch as catch can*. At other times, he would leave his palace, (dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head) and walk without attendants about the streets ; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe, for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said (and I omit a great many other particulars) I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *senseless*, rather than that of *illustrious*.

(k) Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered

(k) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv.

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

that prince, secretly, three hundred and sixty talents (about ninety thousand pounds sterling) besides eighty more (about twelve thousand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.

(*l*) In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son; and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence. But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Coelosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived, from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. (*m*) It is certain that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his son with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared that, in the last division of the empire between

(*l*) A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan.

(*m*) Polyb. in Legat. c. 72—82.

the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts, and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Coelosyria and Palestine) had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted, that it was an absolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

(*n*) Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Coelosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country; and

(*n*) 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

(o) The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted his father, should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he had received from the senate; from all the youths of Rome; and from persons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius, with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

(p) Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the

(o) Liv. l. 40. n. 6.
2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

(p) A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts: but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

(q) Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine; finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Pa-

(q) A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. 42. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. 71, 72. Justin. l. 34. c. 2. Diod. Legat. 18. Hieron. in Daniel,

leſtine, of which he was actually poſſeſſed, and the neceſſity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the ſupport of them ; immediately after which he put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Caſius and Peluſium ; and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made ſo good an uſe of his ſucceſs, that he put the frontier in a condition to ſerve as a barrier, and to check the utmoſt efforts the Egyptians might make to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into Egypt : after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

(r) During his ſtay there, three perſons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jeruſalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his preſence of impiety and ſacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the requeſt of Ptolemy Macron, one of his miniſters in the intereſt of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as falſe witneſſes ; *an action*, ſays the author of the Maccabees, *(s) ſo very unjuſt, that, before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent.* The Tyrians, touched with compaſſion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

(t) This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the iſland of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country ; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the miniſters, though they made the warmeſt inſtances upon that head ; but had conſtantly reſuſed to regard them from juſtly ſuſpecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole

(r) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 17c. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.

(s) Ver. 47. (t) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal ! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit, at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants ; made him governor of Coelosyria and Palestine ; and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(u) Antiochus spent the whole winter, in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt ; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success ; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape ; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians ; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him ; so that he soon took Memphis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

(u) 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 311.

Philometor was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table ; lived, seemingly, in great friendship ; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

(x) Philometor made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preserve it ! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, (for he afterwards gave proofs of both,) as the effect of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs ; and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority ; and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

(y) Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem ; and there, by the assistance of his partizans in the city, made himself master of it ; drove

(x) Justin. l. 34. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

(y) 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 5—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 7. Diod. l. 34. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those that fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which mostly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city, took it by storm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused fourscore thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shew-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary, (all these were of gold;) with several other vases, utensils and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense * sums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed as governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of

* We are told in the *Maccabees*, Book II. ch. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple, only eighteen hundred talents,

which are equivalent to about two hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling.

high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

(z) Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phænomenas in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who forming considerable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

(a) The Alexandrians, seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. (b) On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy *Evergetes* II. given him, which was soon changed to that of *Cacergetes*; the former signifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed * *Physon*, or *tun-bellied*, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. (c) Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly to-

(z) 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.
Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.
(c) Polyb. in Leg. c. 81.

(a) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169.
(b) Athen. l. 4. p. 184.

* *φύσκαν* ventricosus, obesus, from *φύσκη*, Crassum intestinum, venter.

wards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army ; and to deliberate with them, on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution ; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus ; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation, to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus ; ascribing the calamities of the war to his male-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy ; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war ; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Coelosyria and Palestine ; alledged the reasons we have related above ; and produced some authentic instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity ; promising them that he would make prepara-

tions for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. (*d*) In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome; representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome; they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their

(*d*) Liv. l. 44. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. 90.

instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy ; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war : and that, should either of the parties refuse a compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

(e) A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt ; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them ; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words : That they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject ; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship ; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

(f) He said these words, but harboured a very different design ; his view being only to perplex affairs for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would hence-forwards be his interest to keep up an enmity and occasion a war between the two brothers which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards

(e) Polyb. Legat. 84.

(f) Liv. l. 45. n. 11.

Memphis; and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy, into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low, as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother, that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoke from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts; and I before observed, that he concealed beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

(g) The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the

(g) Polyb. Legat. 89—91.

Achæans.

Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only a thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising a thousand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs ; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him ; the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies ; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the least inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thousand men ; consequently so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes, would not lessen their strength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings ; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians ; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon ; and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to

employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemys and Antiochus, and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

(*b*) The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: At the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him; That their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country, through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He

(*b*) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. 45. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. 92.

would certainly have succeeded in his enterprize, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at * Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice; *Answer*, says he, *the senate, before you stir out of that circle.* The king quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved after in all respects as an old friend. † How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

* *Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, Eleusinem instead of Leusinem.*

† *Quam efficax est animi ser-*

monisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti tenuit. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 4.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant, every thing gave way before them ; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus ; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians ; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it ; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemys and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, “ That the peace
 “ which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the
 “ most splendid conquests ; and that he had obeyed
 “ the commands of the Roman ambassadors, as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods.” How groveling, and at the same time, how impious was all this ! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain ;
 “ That the two Ptolemys and Cleopatra thought
 “ themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and
 “ even to the gods ; having been delivered, by the
 “ protection which Rome had granted them, from a
 “ very grievous siege ; and re-established on the throne
 “ of their ancestors, of which they had been almost
 “ entirely dispossessed.” The senate answered ;
 “ That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to
 “ the ambassadors ; and that the people and senate of
 “ Rome were pleased with him for it.” Methinks
 I this

this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered; “ That the senate were very much pleased, “ with the opportunity of doing them some service ; “ and that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship “ and protection of the Romans, as the most solid “ support of their kingdom.” The Prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECT. III. *Antiochus, enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of God. Judas Maccabeus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

(i) **A**NTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached twenty two thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

(i) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 7.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator; he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received, and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the house as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices; not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

(*k*) As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages;

(*k*, 1 Maceab. i. 41—64. & 2. vi. 1—7. Joseph. *ibid.*

to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner, as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seem not to have been affected with the change of their worship or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforwards be consecrated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously; and ordered *Nicanor*, deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives many fell from Israel (1); and several of those who had once taken

(1) 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

* They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel (Jehovah) was never uttered by the Jews.

this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves, employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant, who was sent into Judæa and Samaria, to see the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country, and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

(*m*) One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the

(*m*) 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 8.

law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father Asmoneus the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan surnamed *Gaddis*; Simon surnamed *Thasi*; Judas surnamed *Maccabeus*; Eleazar called *Abaron*; and Jonathan called *Apphus*. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised that, in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a † just and holy indignation, he fell upon the apostate and killed him: After this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this

* *Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, & consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, & fratres mei, obe-*

diemus legi patrum nostrorum.

† *God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xiii. ver. 6, to 11.*

bold action, he cried aloud in the city ; * *Whosoever is zealous of the law (n), and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me.* As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they soon were followed by others ; so that all the deserts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

(o) At first, when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However, they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding to persons in such imminent danger as themselves.

(p) Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion ; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. (q) At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar ; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important, and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of scripture.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away : but, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats.

(n) 1 Maccab. c. vii. v. 27.
2. vi. 11. Joseph. *ibid.*
Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v.

(o) 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41.
(p) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.
(q) 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

* Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious life to a criminal death, went voluntarily to execution ; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat ; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command ; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired from him. “ It would be shameful, says
 “ he to them, for me, at this age, to use such an
 “ artifice, as many young men, upon the supposition
 “ that Eleazar, at fourscore and ten years of age, had
 “ embraced the principles of the heathens, would be
 “ imposed upon by such deceit, which I should have
 “ employed to preserve the short remains of a corrupt-
 “ tible life ; and thereby I should dishonour my old
 “ age, and expose it to the curses of all men. Be-
 “ sides, supposing I should by that means avoid the
 “ punishment of men, I could never fly from the
 “ hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor
 “ in that which is to come. For this reason, if I
 “ lay down my life courageously, I shall appear wor-
 “ thy of old age ; and still leave behind me, for the
 “ imitation of young people, an example of constancy
 “ and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable
 “ death,

“ death, for the sake of our venerable, and holy
 “ laws.” Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech,
 but he was dragged to execution. The officers that
 attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with
 some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what
 he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of
 pride. When the torments had made him ready to
 breath his last, he vented a deep sigh and said : “ O
 “ Lord ! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge,
 “ thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself
 “ from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body ;
 “ but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I
 “ fear thee.” Thus died this holy man ; leaving, by
 his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole
 nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother,
 were seized ; and king Antiochus would force them to
 eat swine’s flesh contrary to their law, by causing their
 bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But
 the eldest of the brethren said to him : “ What is it
 “ thou wouldst ask or have of us ? We are ready to
 “ lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy
 “ laws which God gave to our forefathers.” The
 king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen
 pans and cauldrons to be heated ; and, when they were
 red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke
 first to be cut off ; had the skin torn from his head, and
 the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before
 his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated
 in every part of his body, he was brought close to the
 fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of
 tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and
 their mother exhorted each other to die courageously,
 saying : “ The Lord God will have regard to truth :
 “ he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses
 “ declares in his song.”

The first dying in this manner, the second was
 taken ; and after the hair of his head, with the skin,
 were tore away, he was asked whether he would eat
 of

of some meats which were presented to him ; otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, “ I will not obey any of your commands.” He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king : “ Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terrestrial
“ life : but the king of heaven and earth, if we die
“ for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us
“ up to everlasting life.”

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately ; and afterwards stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said : “ I
“ received these limbs from heaven, but I now despise
“ them, since I am to defend the laws of God ; from
“ the sure and steadfast hopes that he will one day
“ restore them to me.” The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die, he said to the monarch : “ It is
“ for our advantage to be killed by men, because
“ we hope that God will restore us to life at the
“ resurrection : but you, O king, will never rise to
“ life.”

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus : “ You now act according to your own
“ will and pleasure, because you are invested with
“ absolute human power, though you are but a mortal man. But do not imagine that God has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will
“ see the wondrous effects of his power ; and in
“ what manner he will torment yourself and your
“ race.”

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said : Do not deceive yourself : “ It is true,
“ indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite
“ tortures which we now suffer : but do not flatter
“ your-

“ yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having
“ presumed to make war against God himself.”

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them : “ I
“ know not in what manner you were formed in my
“ womb ; for it was not I who inspired you with a
“ soul and with life, nor formed your members : but
“ I am sure that the Creator of the world, who
“ fashioned man, and who gave being to all things,
“ will one day restore you to life by his infinite mer-
“ cy, in return for your having despised it here, out
“ of the love you bear to his laws.”

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance ; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power ; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised : and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant’s cruelty, she said to him in her native language : “ Son,
“ have pity on me ; on me who bore you nine
“ months in my womb ; who for three years fed
“ you with milk from my breasts, and brought you
“ up ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look
“ upon heaven and earth and every thing they con-
“ tain, and firmly to believe that God formed them
“ all, as well as man. Fear not that cruel executi-
“ oner ; but show yourself worthy of your brethren,
“ by submitting chearfully to death ; in order that
“ by the mercy of God, I may receive you, toge-
“ ther with your brothers, in the glory which
“ awaits us.”

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud: "What is it you expect from me?" "I do not obey the king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with which the Hebrews have been afflicted, flow, you shall not escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings indeed are owing to our sins: but if the Lord our God, to punish us, was, for a little time, angry with us, he at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers; after having suffered, a moment, the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal joys. In imitation of the example they have set me, I freely give up my body and life for the laws of my forefathers; and I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you by wounds and tortures of every kind to confess that he is the only God; and that his anger, which is justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

(1) Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, all

(1) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 12.

the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

(s) Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given of him by Daniel (t), who calls him a *vile* or contemptible *man*; as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-stock of them all; and many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

(u) He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beside other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses: for it is certain that Antiochus was

(s) Polyb. apud Athen. l. 5. p. 193, &c. Died. in Excerpt. Val. l. p. 321. (t) Dan. xi. 21. (u) Polyb. Legat. 101—105. Died. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 322.

meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

(x) Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

(y) He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on particular persons and whole bodies of men. He often would throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason.

(x) 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 10.
(y) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11.

On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should (z) *scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches*; and the author of the (a) Maccabees says, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had *abounded above the kings that were before him*. We are told by (b) Athenæus, that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, (which was the most considerable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

(c) Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, *from the tidings which came to him out of the east, and out of the north*. For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. (d) There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance by which the antient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished; and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expences it was necessary to be at.

(e) To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts: to give the command of one of his armies to

(z) Dan. xi. 24.
l. 5. p. 195.

(a) 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

(b) Athen.

(c) Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum.

(d) 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

(e) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25.

2. viii. 8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.
Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

Lyfias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews ; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lyfias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates ; and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called * *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lyfias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country ; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, on which Judæa depended ; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyfias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an

* He was then but seven years old.

army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general ; sent him before, at the head of twenty thousand men, with Georgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus near Jerusalem. It consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants that came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay * the two thousand talents which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the antient treaty of Sipylus ; published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold, at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A resolution indeed had been taken, to cut to pieces all the men grown ; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity, and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter, at the price above-mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics and the persons they should want, to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of so powerful an army, which, they knew, had been

* *About three hundred pounds sterling.* † *A thousand crowns.*

commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer, or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the six thousand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God; and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

(*f*) Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. (*g*) They agree however in one point, that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one, because they have a mighty army of well disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the (*b*) law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's six thousand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to providence; advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture

(*f*) Judges xx. 1.
5, &c.

(*g*) 1 Reg. vii. 5.

(*b*) Deut. xx.

supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops ; and that he was marching a bye-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprize his camp in the night ; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it. For, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage ; he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it ; and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together ; and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful without coming to a battle ; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp ; and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order ; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas and the men under his command pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense

menſe booty ; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themſelves taken priſoners and fold. The next day, being the ſabbath, was ſolemnized in the moſt religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occaſion, gave themſelves up to an holy joy ; and unanimoſly returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and ſignal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a ſenſible image of the feeble oppoſition which the human arm is able to make againſt that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs. *How can we*, ſays he to the Almighty before the battle, *ſtand before them, unleſs thou thyſelf aſſiſteſt us ?* And it is as evident that he was no leſs firmly perſuaded of the ſucceſs of his arms. *The victory*, (he had ſaid before) *does not depend on the number of ſoldiers, but it is from heaven that all our ſtrength comes.* But although Judas had ſo entire a confidence in God, he employs all thoſe expedients which the moſt experienced and braveſt general could uſe, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals ! To pray with humility, becauſe all things depend on God : and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.

————We are ſtill poſſeſſed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain ſuch thoughts ; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave ſoldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almoſt unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all thoſe human advantages, but ſolely on the protection of the God of armies.

(i.) Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this ſucceſs brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to diſtreſs the reſt of his

(i) 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their men.

(k) Lyfias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all chosen troops; and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lyfias, dismayed at the surprizing valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch, intending nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year with a still more powerful body of forces.

(l) Judas being left master of the field by the retreat of Lyfias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified it, and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be

(k) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11. (l) 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. & v. 1, 2. 2. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11.

solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

(*m*) This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem. But his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunder-struck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him, of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way; fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lyfias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their antient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance: threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that

(*m*) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholic. *Thus the murderer and blasphemer, says the author of the Maccabees, having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country in the mountain.*

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock : so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body ; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him ; his flesh fell away piecemeal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, (n) *It is meet, says he, to be subject unto God ; and man who is morial should not think of himself as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people ; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered ; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices ; to turn Jew himself ; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in ques-

(n) 2 Maccab. c. ix. v. 12.

tion, (o) *This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.* And indeed this murderer and blasphemer, (these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of *illustrious*, which men had bestowed on that prince,) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death *.

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes.*

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish

(o) 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

* Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unac-
quainted with the scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment the sacrilegious attempt, formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

church ; and was, at the same time, the type of the Antichrist, who, in after-ages, was to afflict the Christian church ; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

(p) *And in his (Seleucus Philopator's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom : but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

(q) *And with the arms of a flood shall they (the Syrians) be overflown before him, (Antiochus Epiphanes) and shall be broken ; yea, also the prince of the covenant.* Heliodorus, the murtherer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the *prince of the covenant*, we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus the ring-leader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus ; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus providence

(p) Dan. c. xi. ver. 21.

(q) Ver. 22.

removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS's *first* EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(r) *And after the league made with him, (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew king of Egypt) he shall work deceitfully ; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.* Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war ; *he yet shall assume a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt.* He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a *small army* in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus *was strongest*, that is victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

ANTIOCHUS's *second* EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(s) *He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province (Egypt ;) and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers ; he shall scatter among them (his troops) the prey and spoil and riches ; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.*

(t) *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south (of Egypt) with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle*

(r) Ver. 23.

(s) Ver. 24.

(t) Ver. 25.

with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand : for they shall forecast devices against him.

(u) Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow : and many shall fall down slain.

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Anticchus's second expedition into Egypt ; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practice with regard to Ptolemy.

Anticchus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. *(x) Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. — And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt : but Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled ; and many were wounded to death. — Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.*

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophesy of this event.

(y) And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him (Ptolemy is here hinted at ;) and the king of the north (Antiochus) shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

(z) He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown : but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

(a) He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

(b) But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over the precious things of Egypt, &c.

*(u) Ver. 26. (x) 1 Maccab. c. i. v. 17, 18, 19. (y) Ver. 40.
(z) Ver. 41. (a) Ver. 42. (b) Ver. 43.*

If

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophesy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

(c) Diodorus relates that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that (d) *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers.*

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. (e) *They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.*

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time, the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

(c) In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.
(e) Ver. 26.

(d) Dan. c. xi. ver. 24.

ANTIOCHUS's third EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(f) : *And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief ; and they shall speak lies at one table ; but it shall not prosper : for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.*

(g) *Then shall he (Antiochus) return into his land with great riches.*

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor : (b) *per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword : (i) *cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle ; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew : (k) *cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur ;* and the nephew who saw through his design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus,* strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving of the other : nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

(f) Ver. 27.

(g) Ver. 28.

(b) Liv. l. 44. n. 19.

(i) Id. l. 45. n. 11. Hieron. in Dan.

(k) Liv. ibid.

ANTIOCHUS'S *fourth* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

(*l*) *At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.*

(*m*) *For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

Advice being brought Antiochus that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publicly that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, *he returned towards the south*, that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. (*n*) As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships, (for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but *with the utmost reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his indignation*, as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner.

II. CRUEL PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I have mentioned and explained in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

(*l*) Ver. 29.

(*m*) Ver. 30.

(*n*) Liv. l. 45. n. 10.

(*o*) Be-

(o) *Behold an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. —*

Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? (p) *The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.* These are Alexander's four successors. (q) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.* This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the south and east, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

(r) *And it waxed great (the horn) even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. —* (s) *Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host (to God;) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. —* (t) *And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.*

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

(u) *His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits. — He shall return and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

(x) During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had

(o) Dan. viii. 5.

(p) Ver. 8.

(q) Ver. 9.

(r) Ver. 10.

(s) Ver. 11.

(t) Ver. 12.

(u) Ch. xi. ver. 28, 30.

(x) 1 Maccab. i. 21—24.

2. Ver. 5—21. Joseph. lib. de Maccab. &c.

been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty * thousand men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

(y) After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly Apollonius made dreadful havock in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

(z) *He shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.——And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.——And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries, &c.*

(a) Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion; he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many,

(y) 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. 2 Ver. 24—26. (z) Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32. (a) 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.

* We are told, in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their base apostacy.

(b) And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall Antiochus corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits. This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

(c) And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days. This relates chiefly to Mattathias, and his sons.

(d) Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

(e) And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed. The sufferings and death of those who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

(f) And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

(g) Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor

*(b) Dan. xi. 32.
(e) Ver. 35.*

*(c) Ver. 33.
(f) Ver. 36.*

*(d) Ver. 34.
(g) Ver. 37.*

the desire of women, nor regard any god : for he shall magnify himself above all.

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

(b) But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall trouble him : therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the east, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the north, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. (i) Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army ; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

(k) He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace [† in Apadno] between the sons in the glorious holy mountain [of Zabi ;] yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him. This verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words *Apadno* and *Zabi*, which are not to

(b) Ver. 44.

(i) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.

(k) Ver.

45.

* Antiochus demere superstitionem, & mores Græcorum dare adnexus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est : nam

ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat. Tacit. l. 5. c. 8.

† N. B. The words between the crotchets in this verse are not in our English translation of the bible,

be

be found in the antient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount *Zabi* (doubtless the same with *Taba* *, where, according to (1) Polybius, he died) and that there he *shall come to his end*, being abandoned by God, and having none to *help him*. We have seen how he expired, in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck to see the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the holy spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

(1) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 145.

* *Taba*, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Paretacena according to Quintius Curtius.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. Porphyry *, the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been wrote by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now

* Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233. and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

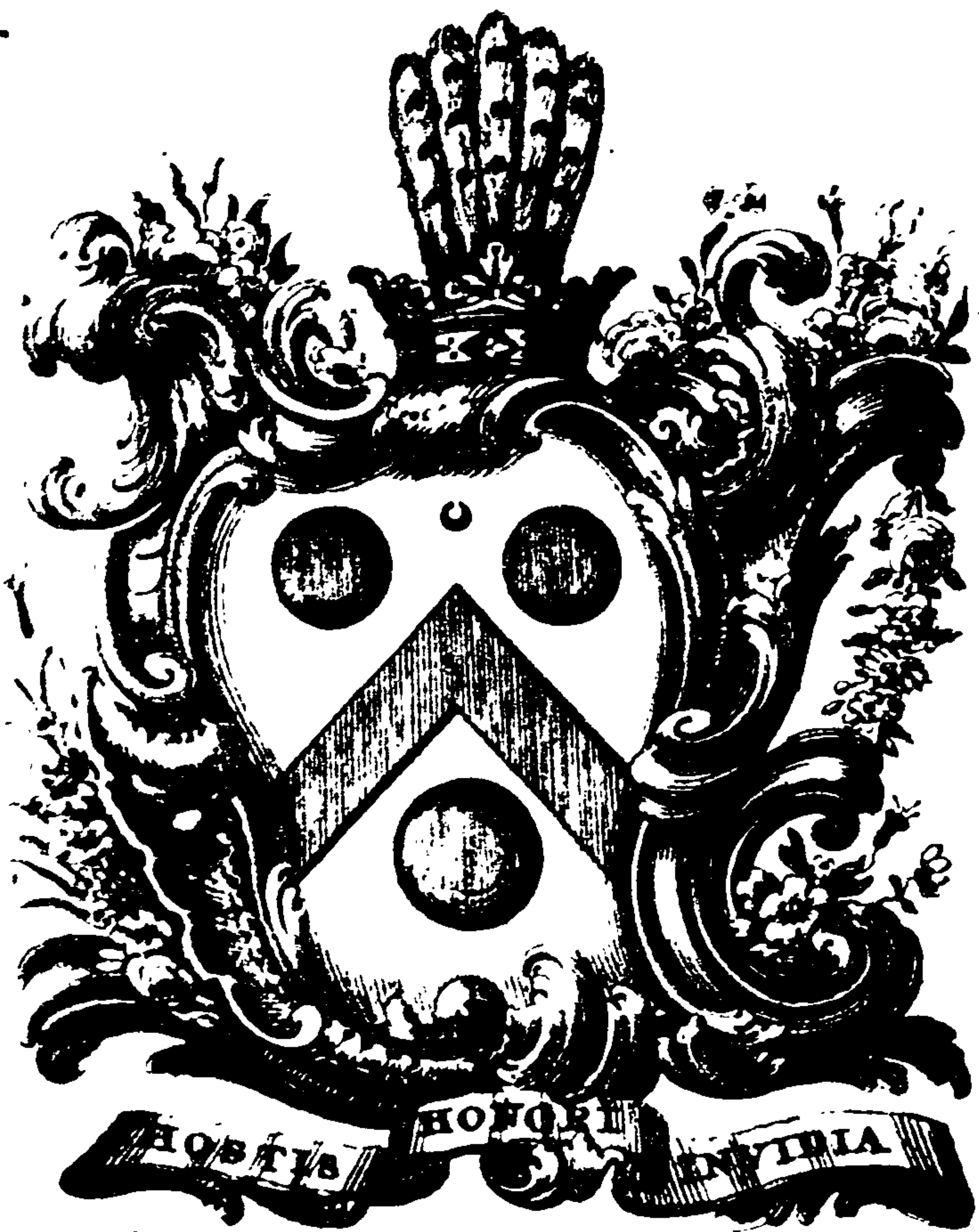
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this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence has appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in it; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious?
(m) Thy testimonies are very sure——O LORD, for ever.

(m) Psal. xciii. 5.

3 AP 65

The End of V O L. VIII.



The Hon^{ble} John Sherard Esq^r



*PERSEUS in the TENT of
PAULUS EMILIUS.*

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THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

*By Mr. ROLIN, late Principal of the University
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THE ANCIENT
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CONTAINING,

I. War of PERSEUS with the Romans. PAULUS ÆMILIUS sent against him. MACEDONIA reduced into a Province of the Roman Empire.

II. EUMENES. ATTALUS. PHRYGIA becomes a Province of the Roman Empire. PHILOSOPHY introduced at Rome. Digression upon Marseilles. Corinth burnt. Greece a Province of the Roman Empire.

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V. Abridgment of the History of the JEWS, from ARISTOBULUS I. to HEROD THE GREAT; and of the PARTHIANS from the Establishment of that Empire, to the Defeat of Crassus.

VI. Abridgment of the History of the Kings of CAPPADOCIA, from the Beginning of that Kingdom to its being made a Roman Province.

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T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
N I N T H V O L U M E.

B O O K X I X.

*The HISTORY of the successors of
ALEXANDER continued.*

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER
CONTINUED.

BOOK XIX.

THIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related ; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than one and twenty years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman Empire ; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The

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ARTICLE I.

This article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECT. I.

Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.

THE death of Philip (*a*) happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already began to put it in execution ; which was to bring a considerable body of troops both horse and foot from European Sarmatia (part of Poland.) Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce : they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was

(*a*) An. Mun. 3826. before Christ 178. Liv. l. 40. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. 4. cap. 20.

to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it: If it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ (*b*) had pursued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprize. The senate, without making any farther enquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care, that he observed inviolably the treaty made with

(*b*) An. Mun. 3829. Before Christ 175. Frainheim in Liv.

the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube froze over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome (c), that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced toward Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing thro' Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states thro' which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or

(c) An. Mun. 3830. Before Christ 174. Liv. l. 41. n. 27, 29.

* *Dolopia* was a region of *Thessaly*, upon the confines of *Epirus*.

claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those, who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of a war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. But added he, whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while.

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors (*d*), sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed ; a double evasion equally false. That for the rest it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they had found Ætolia ; that it was in great commotion from domestick divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders ; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war ; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors, whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far

(*d*) A. • Mun. 3831. Before Christ, 173. Liv. l. 42. n. 2, 5, 6.

exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, tho' the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Appelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother, and of having committed many other murders both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects, and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus (*e*) was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every soldier and seaman, who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter.

(*e*) Polyb. Legat. 6c, 61.

Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

The (f) Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardor for military expeditions, to which he had been early enured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia; without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestick troubles, and not to

(f) An. Mun. 3832. Before Christ 172. Liv. l. 42. n. 11, 14.

the Romans. That supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations of war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and provisions for ten years. That besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot ; and that, tho' Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. “ For the rest, said he in concluding, having “ discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude “ for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to “ implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would “ inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent “ with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours.

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoke, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first ; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them said in his speech, enflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done or said any thing that argued an enemy. That as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should

know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatick people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great presents.

Harpalus, (g) having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures, and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his

(g) Liv. l. 42. n. 15, 19.

assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass a-breast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who stayed to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, tho' he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed thro' that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole,

and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprize.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shewn him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the publick. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes (*b*) was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardor excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors seeing they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused

(*b*) Liv. l. 42. n. 25, 27.

them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately ; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome they reported the result of their embassy ; and added, that they had observed in all the cities of Macedonia thro' which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors, that had been sent to the kings their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence

telligence with Perseus; and referred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlo-Syria with him; and that the Romans employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had however declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces,
and

and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, thro' his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlo-Syria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected in consequence to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he should choose; and it seemed that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman go-

vernment ; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely into the king's measures ; some, because their debts and the bad estate of their affairs made them desire a change ; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's ; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other ; and preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace : because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprize they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said, that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia with his army,
and

and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more to Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans (*i*) omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedence, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself

(*i*) Liv. l. 42. n. 37. 44. Polyb. Legat. 63.

for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished, that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. “Of this I am † assured, said he in concluding, that my conscience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people is universally extolled, if for such slight causes, as scarce merit complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms and make war upon kings in alliance with them.”

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try

† *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; & si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me & emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello & armis persequendum*

esse censeatis, commisi: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela & expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, & regibus sociis bella inferatis. *Liv.*

all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the side of Perseus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation according to ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed thro' a long course of time a republick, which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils, as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them, by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned

moned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men, to garison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent (*k*) new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called) had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions, with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they shewed them a fleet of forty ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprize was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. “ If, contrary to the treaties
 “ subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be,
 “ said he, the mediators between the two nations.
 “ All the world is interested in their continuing to
 “ live in peace, and it behoves none more than you
 “ to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders not

(*k*) Liv. l. 42. n. 45. 43. Polyb. Legat. 64. 68.

“ only

“ only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece,
 “ the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a
 “ good, the more ought you to be upon your guard
 “ against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you
 “ with different sentiments. You cannot but know,
 “ that the certain means* to reduce Greece into sla-
 “ very, is to make it dependent upon one people only,
 “ without leaving it any other to have recourse to.”

The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, That in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them, in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few small (/) cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcus and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in dis-

* Cum cæterorum id interesset, opibus excellant, quæ serva atque
 tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit quam
 inter alias civitates dignitate atque ad Romanos respectus. *Liv.*

(/) Coronæa and Halartus.

guise and under cover ; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour ; but that a victory, obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate, which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the publick ; and Attilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa ; lest upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Boeotia.

Tho' the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things, which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five and forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land-forces.

SECT. II.

The consul Licinius and king Perseus take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Fight of the horse, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter quarters.

THE consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the capitol, set out from * Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republick was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened thro' the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal, said they, can know the fate of a consul at his departure; whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from his succession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citi-

* Ann. Mund. 3833. Bef. Christ 171.

zens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him ; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it ; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those, who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal Empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories ; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Massinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head against, the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider
with

with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would choose to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defense of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it so necessary,* said the king, *let us make war then with the help of the gods.* He gave orders at the same time to his generals to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the Lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them ; but that design a sudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time marched troops into Greece to take possession of the strongest places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians ; which in his sense was much superior to the other, not only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. “ It remains therefore, Ma-
 “ cedonians, said he in concluding, only to act with
 “ the same courage your ancestors shewed, when
 “ having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed in-
 “ to Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests,
 “ than those of the universe. You are not now to
 “ carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but
 “ to

“ to defend your selves in the possession of the king-
 “ dom of Macedonia. When the Romans attack’d
 “ my father, they cover’d that unjust war with the
 “ false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty
 “ of Greece; the present they undertake without
 “ any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia.
 “ That haughty people cannot bear, that the Roman
 “ empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor
 “ that any warlike nation should have arms for their
 “ defense. For you may be assured, if you refuse to
 “ make war, and will submit to the orders of those
 “ insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver
 “ up your arms with your king and his kingdom to
 “ them.

At these words the whole army, which had express-
 ed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse,
 raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the
 king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding ear-
 nestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from
 the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him mo-
 ney and provisions for the occasions of the army, each
 according to their power. The king thanked them
 in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers;
 giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly
 provided with all things necessary. He only demand-
 ed carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and
 other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of
 the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at
 Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Oëta;
 the consul’s was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having
 surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and
 defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves
 confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes,
 they might easily have destroyed their whole army in
 them. The consul advanced within three miles of the
 country called Tripolis, and encamp’d upon the banks
 of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defense of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, tho' in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some gallies. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprize and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it adviseable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being present) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and an hundred horse detached, with as many of the light armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light armed soldiers. He had scarce marched
a quarter

a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place, the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was began, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry, and light-armed foot towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarce find belief that the enemy was so near, because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who

ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The consul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his entrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre, with a select body of horse; two hundred Gallick horse, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reserved body. King Eumenes, and his brother Attalus with their troops, were posted in the space between the entrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slings
and

and missile weapons, which were posted in front ; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder ; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service, when that wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed ; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their entrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete ; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, between hope and

fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander * of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly beg'd of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or if he should choose to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost two thousand of their light-armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot soldiers were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy: especially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow kept a mournful silence, and filled with terror, expected every moment, that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but however,

* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

being

being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops by the favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprized at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought, which might and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy scripture teaches us

to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: *And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen up them, 1 Sam. c. 26. v. 12.*

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Theſſalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thousand cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most, and having assembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon their victory over their Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised himself from thence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the entrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers,

diers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal if not excel the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded with incredible ardor and passion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situate between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus at first in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were so in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprize, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own fight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day; at first in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp; then when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security, but by being enclosed within their entrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences, which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, (*l*) taking ad-

(*l*) Polyb. *Legat.* 69.

vantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel, of which it made him capable ; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That therefore he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle, nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received, would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace, that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy shewed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom * at that time to

* Ita tum mos erat in ad- gerere, moderari animos in secundis.
versis vultum secunde fortunæ Liv.

express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was; That no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprized at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed, a pride: most of them believed it needless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from the consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions, than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory shewed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought,

thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia (*m*). After a long and vigorous defense, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages laded principally with sheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being born down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty four of the best horse, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

(*m*) Liv. l. 42. n. 64, 67.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Larissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

SECT. III.

The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great fatigues, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome.

Nothing memorable passed the following year (*n*). The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country, as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thousand men, raised amongst the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way, with dreadful slaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarce two thousand escaped into the camp, which a thousand had been left to guard: Claudius

(*n*). An. Mun. 3834. Before Christ 170. Liv. l. 43. n. 9, 10.

returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was (o) the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Papilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially amongst the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority, prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the re-

(o) Polyb. Legat 74. Liv. l. 43. n. 17.

publick, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, and it was resolved, that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain general of the horse.

About this time Attalus, having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be founded; who, determinate in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the publick places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours the republick had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome (p) sent Papilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprizes against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Ro-

(d) An. Men. 3835. Before Christ, 169. Liv. l. 43. n. 11, and 18—23 Polyb. Legat. 76, 77.

mans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how; and took it, after a defense of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and sent a second embassy to him without mention of money; and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprizes miscarry, and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republicks and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls, but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon

Upon the report (*q*) that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and bad reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans, to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republick, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus (*r*), who did not know what rout the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much design.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered part of the country called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and unpracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemies camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to

(*q*. Polyb. Legat. 78.

(*r*) Liv. l. 44. n. 1—10.

enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to pursue an undertaking with vigour; formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair, in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave them great trouble: it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty foot length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third,

third, and so on to as many of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the second, and all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

As the consul (s) seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprize, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good-will in the kindest terms, told them they might spare themselves the trouble and expence, that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army, till the consul, having received advice, that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thousand men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home, with advice not to suffer his republick to furnish those troops, or engage in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæ-

(s) Polyb. Legat. 78.

ans, or laying a snare for them ; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing ?

Whilst the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defense of the passes ; * sent the gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans ; gave orders that his treasures laid up at Pella should be thrown into the sea, and all his gallies at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, but by two forests ; by the one he might penetrate thro' the vallies of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter further into Macedonia ; and both those important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king. So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass for provisions to him. For the ways thro' Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them without dazing. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get thro' them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy

* These were the statues of the caused to be made by Lysippus, and horse-soldiers killed in passing the to be set up in Dium. Granicus, which Alexander had

having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way thro' their enemies to Dium in Macedonia ; * which would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel. For in making a fosse with entrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopt them short. But in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident ; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprized, that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth encreased ; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him, he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired

* Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum in gentis difficultatis erat. *Liv.*

its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror, to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence or importance.

When Polybius (*t*) returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after the council assembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that

(*t*) Polyb. Legat. 78.

before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved the Achæans the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand crowns at least.

In the mean time (a) arrived ambassadors at Rome from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth in a lofty style the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added: That whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniencies from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a pro-

(a) Liv. l. 44. n. 14, 15, 16.

posal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say the senate answered in few words: That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him cloaths for the soldiers; that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do

as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself from his councils under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

S E C T. IV.

Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice loses him considerable allies. The prætor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus, near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate, granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.

THE time for the comitia, (a) or assemblies to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls, who had been employed for three years against Per-

(b) An. Mun. 3836. Before Christ 168. Liv. l. 44. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æm. p. 259, 260.

feus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories, which had been obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who had been driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the publick; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, tho' he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for

for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made instances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship: but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in publick, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much sollicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they summoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his colleague, tho' Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on seeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *You don't know then,* said she, *that our Perseus is dead, pappa.* She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called *Perseus*. *And at a very good time, my dear child,* said Paulus Æmilius; struck with the word, *I accept this omen with joy.* The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

The manner, (a) in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their

(g) Liv. l. 44. n. 18, 22. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 260.

report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprized in all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of P. Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus king of Syria; which have been related in the preceding volume.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: That the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipæus: That the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: That to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country,

country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and that they had only provisions for six days: that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men: that if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers: that those who remained, had not received their pay, and had no cloaths: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shewn themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause; and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: But that as for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops, of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to twenty five thousand eight hundred men; that is of two Roman legions, each composed of six thousand foot and three hundred horse; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had besides, six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole

in all probability did not amount to thirty thousand men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions; but they consisted of only five thousand foot, and three hundred horse each; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horse, composed the army under him of twenty one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet were five thousand men. These three bodies together, made fifty six thousand two hundred men.

As the war, which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken, that might conduce to the success of it. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected into this employment, but such as had already served, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army: He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his times. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the
best

best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the publick good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner.

“ You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more
 “ joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I
 “ was elected consul, or entered upon that office; and
 “ to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the
 “ hopes you conceived, that I should put an end,
 “ worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Ro-
 “ man people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has
 “ already been of too long continuance. I have rea-
 “ son to believe that the same gods †, who have oc-
 “ casioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also
 “ assist me with their protection in conducting and
 “ terminating this war successfully: But of this I
 “ may venture to assure you, that I shall do
 “ my utmost not to fall short of your expecta-
 “ tions. The senate has wisely regulated every
 “ thing necessary in the expedition I am charged
 “ with; and as I am ordered to set out immediately,
 “ I shall make no delay, and know that my colleague
 “ C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the publick
 “ service, will raise and march off the troops appoint-
 “ ed for me, with as much ardor and expedition, as
 “ if they were for himself. I shall take care to re-
 “ mit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact ac-
 “ count of all that passes; and you may rely upon
 “ the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of
 “ you, as a great favour, that you will not give credit
 “ to, nor lay any weight out of credulity upon the
 “ light reports, which are frequently spread abroad
 “ without any author. I perceive well, that in this
 “ war, more than any other, whatever resolution

† It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the divinity presides over chance.

“ people may form to obviate these rumours, they
“ will not fail to make impression, and inspire I know
“ not what discouragement. There are those, who
“ in company, and even at table, command armies,
“ make dispositions, and prescribe all the operations
“ of the campaign. They know better than we
“ where we should encamp, and what posts it is ne-
“ cessary for us to seize; at what time, and by what
“ defile we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is
“ proper to have magazines; from whence either by
“ sea or land we are to bring provisions; when we
“ are to fight the enemy, and when lye still. They
“ not only prescribe what is best to do, but for de-
“ viating ever so little from their plans, they make it
“ a crime in their consul, and cite him before their
“ tribunal. But know, Romans, this is of very bad
“ effect with your generals. All have not the reso-
“ lution and constancy of Fabius, to despise imperti-
“ nent reports. He could choose rather to suffer the
“ people upon such unhappy rumours to invade his
“ authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preserve
“ their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from
“ believing, that generals stand in no need of advice:
“ I think, on the contrary, that whoever would con-
“ duct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and
“ without counsel, shews more presumption than pru-
“ dence. But some may ask, how then shall we act
“ reasonably? In not suffering any persons to obtrude
“ their advice upon your generals, but such as are in
“ the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learnt
“ from experience what it is to command; and in
“ the second, who are upon the spot, who know the
“ enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes,
“ and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be
“ any one, who conceives himself capable of assisting
“ me with his counsels in the war you have charged
“ me with, let him not refuse to do the republick
“ that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia:
“ ship, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied
“ him

“ him at my charge. But if he will not take so much
 “ trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the
 “ dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take
 “ upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in
 “ the port. The city of itself supplies sufficient mat-
 “ ter of discourse on other subjects ; but as for these,
 “ let it be silent upon them, and know, that we shall
 “ pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be
 “ given us in the camp itself.”

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shews that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice: To reason ; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions ? To justice ; for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot: the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature ; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius (*a*), after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus on his side had not been

(*a*) Liv. l. 44. n. 23—29 Polyb. Legat. 35, 37. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money (that is three hundred thousand crowns) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprize. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, then aids and supports. The instructions, which he gave his ambassadors, were very solid and persuasive, as we are about to see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republicks and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them one after another. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and in some measure by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and
Prusias

Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious colour of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already began to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had began to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thousand crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposite the
money

money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed also in another negotiation which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horse-man, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice, that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders that in towns and villages, thro' which they were to pass, great quantity of corn, wine, and cattle should be provided for them ; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits ; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number ; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms ; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off in the best terms the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them ; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point ; and asked whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question ;

tion ; *Go*, said he, *and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his counsel. He foresaw what they would advise ; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls ; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money ; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse ; as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been
entirely

entirely laid waste. The avarice, by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republick into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given orders under hand to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by small journies, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop for his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated sollicitations

tions of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence, that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himself in secret, upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see, that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, *That victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expence of victory.*

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republick had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that, which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome, that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come, and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care
was

was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Publick thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose banks were very high ; and on the side where he lay he had thrown up good entrenchments, with towers from space to space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last repulse, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprize with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the license wherein it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops as the duty of centinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe him conduct, and to explain upon what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses

courses did not become a soldier, that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean, and in good condition; and of his * provisions, that he might be always in a readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and enuring themselves in all military exercises; so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer, or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface † was scarce

* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provision for ten or twelve days.

† Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum featurigenis turbicæ primo &

terres emicare, dein liquidam multatque fundere aquam, velut deum dant, ceperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res cui formæ & auctoritatis ad manus adiecit. Liv.

broke up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, tho' natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardor of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises, by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, and Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardor to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news, but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more publick, and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to the peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly,

coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To shew how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of provisions: for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's entrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defense of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw, that the Enipæus, as well from its natural situation as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound

found peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the soldiers would have murmured out of ardor and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhæbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way thro' Perrhæbia, which led to Pythium, a town situate upon the brow of mount * Olympus: that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of five thousand men. He conceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days provisions with him for a thousand men; in order to make Perseus believe, that he was going to ravage the sea coast. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coast, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded, that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts,

* *The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or half a league.*

the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a flight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprize him. The king terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thousand foreign soldiers, with two thousand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way

way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country, which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniencies, and argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together,

gether, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardor and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses thro' defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

“Formerly, replied the consul to young Scipio, I
 “thought as you do now, and one day you will think
 “as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my con-
 “duct another time; at present satisfy yourself, and
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“rely upon the discretion of an old general.” The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After having spoke thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers (*a*), covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the entrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable * law amongst the Romans, tho’ they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprize. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the entrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge, and if victorious they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sul-

(*a*) *Hastati Principes Triarii.*

* *Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro*

mœnibus & tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Liv. l. 44. n. 39.

pitius

pitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had apprized them of the eclipse, and shewn them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one and twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of an hundred oxen, with publick games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before were: First, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain. In the last place, he insisted strongly

ly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well entrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here, * that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire, and behave well in, battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Tho' the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was however rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians, the reinforcements on both sides continually encreasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the begining of the charge the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesq; munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces provi-

dendo, consultando, cunctatione sapius quam temeritate prodesse. *Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 20.*

of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw at the same time that the whole front-line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression, that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode thro' all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves in consequence like desperate men upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered thick with pikes, and close as an impenetrable entrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and

* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

covered them almost from head to foot ; on the contrary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules ; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god, that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows ; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy : Whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx, where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran thro' the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm ; so that at length the three thousand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces ;

not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that five and twenty thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in the battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired ; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far ; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of * ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever

* This was a custom with the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, That he found in Pompey's camp the tents

of Lentulus, and some others covered with ivy. L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.

seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched three couriers of distinction (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him, took different routs from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and enflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being

so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's Treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped (a) at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, *Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting*: The stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of

(a) Liv. l. 45. n. 3—9. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion, and tho' the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because on the one side Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius on the other insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman, (named Acilius) either of himself, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of his sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so. "How then, continued he, do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your very temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose

rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for giving him this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing, that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the Sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to two thousand talents, that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds. But suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all
the

the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had entrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him; “What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers.” When instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence; Paulus Æmilius

milius continued to this effect. “ Had you ascended
 “ the throne a youth, I should be less surprized at
 “ your being ignorant of what it was to have the
 “ Roman people for your friends or enemies. But
 “ having been present in the war made by your fa-
 “ ther against us, and certainly remembering the
 “ peace, which we have punctually observed on our
 “ side ; how could you prefer war rather than peace,
 “ with a people whose force in the former, and fide-
 “ lity in the latter, you had so well experienced ? ”
 Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than
 he had done to the first question: “ In whatsoever
 “ manner notwithstanding, resumed the consul, these
 “ affairs have happened ; whether they are the effects
 “ of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of
 “ chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all
 “ things, take courage. The clemency with which
 “ the Roman people have behaved in regard to many
 “ other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I
 “ do not say with some hope only, but with almost
 “ entire confidence, that you will meet with the
 “ same treatment.” He spoke this in Greek to Per-
 seus: Then turning towards the Romans, “ You *
 “ see, said he in his own language, a great example
 “ of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you
 “ principally, young Romans, I address this discourse.
 “ The uncertainty of what may happen to us every
 “ day, ought to teach us never to use any one with
 “ insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely
 “ too much upon our present advantages. The proof
 “ of real merit and true valour is neither to be too
 “ elate in good, nor too dejected in bad, fortune.”
 Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged
 Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him

* Exemplum insigne cernitis, in-
 quit, mutationis rerum humana-
 rum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico,
 juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus ni-
 hil in quemquam superbè ac violenter

consulere decet, nec præsentì credere
 fortunæ, cum, quid vespè ferat in-
 certum sit. Is demum vir erit, cu-
 jus animum nec prospera statu suo
 efferet, nec adversa infringet. Liv.

that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had (a) reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure, till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean to Arabia on one side, and the Indias on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during something more than an hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height, to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so much boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more

(a) Liv l. 45. n. 4.

* Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth, Justin the thirtieth. It is thought there is an error in the cypher, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth, with Eusebius.

justly, the example of the most vain and most frantick ambition, the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence in their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict enquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory which either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Publick prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection vouchsafed the republick.

After the nomination of (b) new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius: Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free;

(b) An. Mun. 3837. Before Christ 167. Liv. l. 45. c. 17—18.

in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them, in consideration for the Romans; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land-estates; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that wherever such sort * of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation; lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions; each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who either before or during the war had declared for the

* Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem sociis nullam esse. *Liv.*

Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their publick council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia (c) arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited during the autumn the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Theffaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprized him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for

(c) Liv. l. 45. n. 27—28. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 270.

* For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed thro' Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: The citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians, to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: A very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary however to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius
his

his natural father ; who ruined Carthage and Numantia ; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues ; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions ; who, in a word, to use the terms of a * writer of excellent sense, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water ; and the Isthmus which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring Seas, the one on the east and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Esculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration ; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's master-piece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that † *this Jupiter of Phidias,*

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisq; L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus ; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniiq; ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui ; qui nihil in vitam nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut

dixit ac sensit. *Patere. l. 1. c. 12.*

† To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias ; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

was the exact Jupiter of Homer. Imagining himself in the capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrius. He had met on his way a number of Etolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident, which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprized to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reprov'd Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him with Philip his son into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners (a) being come thither, as had been agreed on with them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns; that it should have a publick council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be dis-

(a) Liv. l. 45, n. 29, 30.

cussed and adjudged : that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that should each have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined ; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them : but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.

The consul (*a*) afterwards gave audience to the Eto-
lians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign Affairs were over, (*b*) Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the publick council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent to Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first ; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages,

(*a*) Liv. l. 45. n. 31.

(*b*) Ibid. n. 32.

and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied ; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs (*a*) succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparation had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts ; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences ; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit, and there was nobody, who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgment and attention ; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap ; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts, and had caused them to be disposed in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand he set

(*a*) Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. 45. n. 32.

fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration as himself. And as people were surprized at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius, which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterest and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers in order to its being applied to the use of the publick. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius (*a*) had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after

(*a*) Liv. l. 45. n. 33, 34.

having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities, that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons; in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the publick treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the publick place, and at ten of the clock the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, that were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had about ten pounds sterling, (four hundred denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the remainder of Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose

cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being (*a*) arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the pro-consul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude in point of discipline rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom however they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian history. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed (*b*) ten talents, was valued for the gold only, at an hundred thousand crowns.

(*a*) Liv. l. 45. n. 35—40. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 271.

(*b*) The talent weighed sixty pounds.

It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Behind these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus with his arms, and upon his arms his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children with their governors, præceptors, and all the officers of their household, who shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the publick joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children, and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself.* He reproached in those few words his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him was to have him removed from the publick prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried by the order of the senate to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his ancient services than late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

A R T I C L E II.

This second article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

S E C T. I.

Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Etolians. All of them in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither: Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country; when only three hundred of them remained.

AMongst the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, (a) more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatick Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republick's aid against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity, that a prince could expect, who had approved in the army in Macedonia a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

(a) An. Mun. 3837. Before Christ 167. Polyb. Legat. 93. Liv. l. 45. n. 19, & 20.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who without doubt did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recal him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetra-
tion,

tion, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learnt from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them indeed enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it intirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprizes of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him at his years into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the scepter from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same scepter at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and

by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons, who less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers ! Of what value must a sincere, prudent and disinterested friend appear at such a time ! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him ; and of being known by them in that light ! The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state ; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised before-hand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents.

They

They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him, and before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They sent however an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and shewed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days (*a*) after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Aftymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defense of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to shew at first his desire to justify it. He knew, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people: he confessed its faults: he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there were no republic nor city, that did not include some bad members. That after all, there was no other crimes ob-

(*a*) Polyb. Legat. 93, 99, 100, & 104. Liv. l. 45. n. 20--25.

jected to them but words ; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, (which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation) but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity.

“ But, said he, the neutrality, observed by us in the
 “ late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our
 “ enmity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in
 “ the world, wherein the intention, when without
 “ effect, is punished as the action itself? but let your
 “ severity be carried to that excess, at least the punishment can fall only on those who have had this
 “ intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and
 “ inaction make us all criminal ; ought the real services we have rendered you in the two preceding
 “ wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not
 “ cover the omission imputed to us in the last ? Let
 “ Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus bear witness now
 “ in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us ; and for the third,
 “ at most and in the severest sense, the sentence must
 “ appear doubtful, and uncertain. Can you then,
 “ according to this state of the question, pass a fatal
 “ decree against Rhodes ; for you are now upon the
 “ point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any
 “ longer, or be entirely destroyed ? You may declare
 “ war against us ; but not a single Rhodian will take
 “ up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city,
 “ men, women, and free-persons will embark, with
 “ all our estates and effects ; we will abandon our
 “ household gods, as well publick as private, and come
 “ to Rome ; where after we have thrown our gold

* Neq; moribus neq; legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut si quis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quod id fiat, capitis damnetur. *Liv.*

“ and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will
 “ deliver up ourselves, our wives and our children, to
 “ your discretion. We will suffer here before your
 “ eyes whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us.
 “ If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on
 “ fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of
 “ that calamity. You may by your resolves declare
 “ yourselves our enemies ; but there is a secret sense
 “ in the bottom of our hearts that declares quite the
 “ contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities
 “ you may act against us, you will never find us
 “ otherwise than friends and servants.”

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators with olive-branches in them to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by the order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled; *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own Orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius (a) has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's ; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it, at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energic style, which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention

(a) Liv. 7. c. 5.

was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato * begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends in the present case, they may form resolutions, which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. “Adversity,” says he, in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures, which a calm situation of mind would enable us to discern, and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair, till having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity.” He adds, “That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring, that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all other States; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians

* Scio solere p'eriq; hominibus rebus secundis atq; prolixis atq; prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atq; ferociam augescere atq; crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confuteat; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose ex-

niat. Adversæ res se domant, & docent quid opus sit factis: secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, cum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

“did

“ did not aid Perseus. Their whole † crime, by
 “ the consent of their most violent accusers, is to
 “ have intended to declare war against us. But how
 “ long has the will, the intention only, been a crime?
 “ Is there any one amongst us, that would be will-
 “ ing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I
 “ am sure, I would not. The * Rhodians, it is said,
 “ are proud. I should be very sorry, that my chil-
 “ dren could justly make me that reproach. But
 “ pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it
 “ become us to make it a crime in them to be proud-
 “ er than we are?”

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator, as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for two hundred talents (about 25000 £.) of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents (or 15000 £.) At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of a million of drachma's, (about five and twenty thousand pounds sterling) to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only an hundred and fifty thousand

† Qui acerrimè adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego,

quod at me attinet nolum.

* Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi a liberis meis minime dici velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? idne irascimini, si quis superbior est quam nos?

(about three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling.)

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republick, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to insensible of small ones. How hard soever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, at the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of * ten thousand pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, tho' for almost an hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republick: which was a fetch of their politicks. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; that continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove by that change all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republick. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared, that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

* This might amount to about six thousand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (αεγυς) at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

I have before observed, (a) that the Etolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lycisclus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Etolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment; and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The enquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned if it was just; or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it.

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of me-

(g) Liv. l. 45. n. 28, 32.

dium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publickly asserting the defense of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that besides those who had declared publickly for Perseus, there were abundance of others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those, who had only the interest of the Roman commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly, that was determined to consider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all that should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours. We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Etolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defense. Commissioners

missioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such, as in publick or private, had favoured Perseus.

Of all the small states of Greece (*a*), none gave the Roman republick so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to the letters that should be wrote them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risque of their lives in the as-

(*a*) An. Mun. 3837. Before Christ 167. Liv. l. 45. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

sembly: the second, because in the letters, which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not say which) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: “ I have
 “ commanded the armies, and have had the honour
 “ to be chief magistrate of the league, I protest,
 “ that I have never acted in any thing contrary to
 “ the interests of the Romans, which I am ready to
 “ prove either in the assembly of the Achæans, or
 “ at Rome before the senate.” The Roman took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip or his son Alexander. Those princes, tho’ irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which
 may

may justly be called tyrannical, caused above a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league, to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Calliocrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the publick baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philopæmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed those learned lessons of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republick cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipio's. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome. When

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans (*a*), surprized, and afflicted with, the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome, (with Euræas at their head) to protest again before the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished, the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such enquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby

(*a*) Polyb. Legat. 105.

more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece into a consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing farther to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

However (*a*), they sent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would persist in the regulations already made.

The Achæans (*b*) would not be rejected, and appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exiles.

The Achæans, (*c*) having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored

(*a*) Polyb. Legat. 121. (*b*) An. Mun. 3844. Before Christ
160. Id. Legat. 129, 130. (*c*) Plut. in Cato Cens. p. 341.

to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn: “To see us, said he, “dispute an whole day, whether some poor old men “of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers, “or those of their own country, would not one believe, that we had nothing at all to do?” That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine it at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was for desiring, that they might be re-instated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, “Polybius, “you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are “for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some “miserable tatters you have left there (a).” The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, seeing three years after he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

S E C T. II.

Mean flatteries of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes, become suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus his brother succeeds him, as guardian to his son then very young. War between Attalus and Prusias. The latter having formed the design of putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the

(a) An. Mund. 3854. Before Christ 150.

people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles.

After the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment, they seemed to have to that prince ; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes king of Pergamus, Prusias king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

Prusias being come to Rome, (*a*) to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes, and stockings of a slave made free ; and saluting the deputies, *You see*, said he, *one of your freed-men ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs.* When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, *I salute you, gods preservers*, cried he ; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him ; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands

(*n*) An. Mun. 3838. Before Christ 166. Polyb. Legat. 97. Liv. l. 45. n. 44.

in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted, it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome (*a*), when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions; but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniencies, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republick, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies, (*a*) and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf.

(*a*) Polyb. *ibid.*

(*b*) An. Mun. 3339. Before Christ 165. Polyb. Legat. 97, 102, 104, 105, 106, 119, 121.

That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians under-hand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athæneus, thither to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to refute all complaints against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not however entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

Sulpicius (*a*) acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty that set all male-contents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

Tib. Gracchus, (*b*) whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cap-

(*a*) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 145.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3840. Before Christ 164.

padocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That prince died some time after. His (a) son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopater, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called *Philopater*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

As soon as the young king ascended the throne (b), he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him, with praises.

Some time after, (c) notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius king of Syria, and one of his eldest brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed (d), that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus in the first year of his reign re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length after having reigned thirty eight* years. He left for his successor (e) in the kingdom his son Attalus, surnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Aria-

(a) An. Mun. 3842. Before Christ 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895.

(b) Polyb. Legat. 121.

(c) An. Mun. 3845. Before Christ 159. Polyb. Legat. 126.

(d) An. Mun. 3847.

* Strabo says, he reigned sixty three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

(e) Strab. l. 13. p. 624.

rather, and appointed guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one and twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings (*b*) his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed preheminance, with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince. To finish his character, he possessed so full the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that tho' they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it: but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

The division (*b*) which had almost perpetually sub-

(*a*) Polyb. Exempt. virt. & vit. p. 166. (*b*) An. Mun. 3843.
Before Christ 156. Polyb. Leg. l. 128, 129, 133, 135, 136.

sisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted, that he had failed of seizing Attalus, (a) let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came, that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their rout to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to

(a) An. Mun. 38;9. Before Christ 155.

inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported; that Prusias should give immediately twenty deckt-ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents (five hundred thousand crowns) in the space of twenty years; that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them an hundred talents, (an hundred thousand crowns). When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger (*a*), son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome; in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuation of their amity, and without doubt to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.

Prusias (*b*) also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrat-

(*r*) Polyb. Legat. 140. (*b*) An. Mun. 3855. Before Christ 149. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. 34. c. 4.

ing, that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince (z) having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people into his party; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called *the hunter*, and had reigned at least six and thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

This king of Bithynia's person (a) had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but soft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all, amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the

(z) An. Mun. 3856. Before Christ 148.
erpt. p. 173, 174.

(a) Polyb. in Ex-

Sicyonians (*l*), but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers, Carneades of the sect of the Academicks, Diogenes of the Stoicks, and Critolaus of the Peripateticks. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking, that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament exalted each other, transported and enchanted them. It was universally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable Persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw with great joy their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it; apprehending, that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge, and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting, well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates

(*b*) An. Mun. 3843. Before Christ 155. Cic. l. 2. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. 7. c. 14.

how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city, and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The other embassy was sent by the (c) people of Marseilles. They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city (d) where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordi-

(c, Polyb. Legat. 131, & 134.

(d) *Egitna*.

nary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by (*e*) origin of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and six hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead, his son (*f*) did not shew them so much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then by great entreaties obtained a second term to bring them up; and at last when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had in consequence at first a rude war upon their hands, but having been victorious, they continued in the quiet possession of the lands that

(*e*) Herod. l. i. c. 154. Justin l. 43. c. 3. (*f*) Justin l. 43. c. 4.

had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several (*g*) colonies, and built several cities, Agde, Nice, Antibas, Olbia, which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements (*h*) contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learnt to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives*. Hence so surprising an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The (*i*) inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was Aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of six hundred senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality (*k*) was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business

(*g*) Strab. p. 180.

(*h*) Justin *ibid.*

* Adeo magnus & hominibus & rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed

Gallia in Græciam translata videretur. *Justin.*

(*i*) Strab. l. 4. p. 179.

(*k*) Val. Max. l. 2. c. 6.

it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life ; and particular care was taken to banish all double dealing, falshood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves (l) especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed an hundred pieces of gold, that is to say, very near an hundred pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus (m), who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. “ That city, says he, sted-
“ fastly retaining the * ancient severity of manners,
“ excluded from their theatre those comedians whose
“ pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlaw-
“ ful love.” The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. “ Lest, adds the author, a familiarity with
“ such sort of shews should make the people the more
“ apt to imitate them.”

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased †.
“ For, is it consistent to abandon ourselves to im-
“ moderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divi-
“ nity, for not having thought fit to share his im-
“ mortality with us? ”

(l) Strab. p. 181.

(m) Lib. 2. c. 6.

* Eadem civitas severitatis custodiam acerrima est : nullum aditum in scenam mimis dante, quorum argumenta maiore ex parte stuprum continent actus, ne talis spectandi

consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumit.

† Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri non luerit?

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of * Julia Procilla his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age: He adds, “What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders, to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united.” *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate & provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum.*

From what I have said may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physick, mathematicks, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature were publickly professed there. This city produced (n) the most ancient of the learned men of the west, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the

* Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sine indulgentiæque educatus, per omnem honestarum artum cultum, pueritiâ

adolescensiamque transegit. Tacit. in Agricola. c. 4.

(n) Voss. in Hist. Græc.

city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republick. * “ I am assured, says he, “ that not only in Greece, but all other nations, “ there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from “ the country, manners, and language of all other “ Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous “ nations that surround it on all sides, is so prudently “ directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more “ easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of its government.”

They laid it down as a fundamental (o) rule of their politicks, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interest; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin (p) relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls

* Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatē, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendū jure dicam: quæ tam præcul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, lingueque divitiis, cum in ultimis terris cincta

Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ suæbus alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam æmulari. *Orat. pro Placco.* n. 63.

(o) Strab. p. 180.

(p) Just. l. 43. c. 5.

had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the publick or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The (q) Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the publick shews. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill successes, which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, (r) against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators, who were in supreme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: * That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: That it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: That the two heads of those parties were

(q) Liv. l. 21. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. 26. n. 19. Lib. 27. n. 36.

(r) Cæsar in Bel. Civ. l. 1.

* Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui iudicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justiore habeat causam: prin-

cipes vero earum esse partium C. Pompeium & C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere.

equally the protectors of their city ; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They (s) suffered a long siege, in which they shewed all possible valour ; but at length, the extreme necessity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports, antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression ; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt ; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

S E C T. III.

Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perscus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.

(s) Id. l. 2.

Fifteen or sixteen years (*a*) after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and entrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him, Philip, as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; pressing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

(*a*) An. Mun. 3832. Before Christ 152. Epiton. Liv. l. 48, 50. Zonar. ex Dion. l. 1. c. 11. Florus, l. 2. c. 14.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair than began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and without loss of time visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defense of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

However, (*b*) it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a

(*b*) An. Mun. 3836. Before Christ 148.

speedy support. The prætor P. Juventius Thalna had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andrisus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andrisus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andrisus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andrisus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andrisus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he re-
turned

turned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above five and twenty thousand men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriſcus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perſeus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: He retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perſeus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterward surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

S E C T. IV.

Troubles in Achaia; which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. Metellus sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles; they are ill used and insulted. Metellus, after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle and defeats them. The consul Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and

METELLUS, (*a*) after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arose amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those, who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diaeus who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league, and for that end to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Coriath, Argos, Heraclea near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence, that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians

(*a*) An. Mun. 3857. Before Christ 147. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421, 428. Polyb. Legat. 143, 144. Id. in Excerpt. de virt. & vit. p. 181, 189. Justin. l. 34. c. 1. Flor. l. 2. c. 16.

they found in Corinth ; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there ; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia ; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad councils, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans ; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome : they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans themselves would have done ; and were as reserved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther ; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord ; insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in, lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome ; that they had only to repair to Tegæa (*a*), to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress ; and he did not arrive there, till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians ; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not impowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion, which he himself had against them ; and he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and dis-

(*a*) *A city on the banks of the Euratas.*

posed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the Troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation ; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium ; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views ; flew out against the ambassadors themselves ; animated them against the Romans ; and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans ; that he had kings in his party ; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and in consequence indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon to observe the motions of the enemy ; another set out for Naupactus ; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered

tered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans: they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power, so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

The Romans had chosen Mummius (a) for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises, that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent, that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He gave orders besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them.

(a) *Ann. Mun.* 3858. Before Christ 146.

They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with a thousand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country ; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared, and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Mægara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes ; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Socrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition, when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival ; and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard, being neg-

ligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a salley, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and councils all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defense in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the Isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprized by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but as it was neither covered nor

* This place is not known.

sustained by the horse, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without council, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any farther resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, tho' it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold, silver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year Carthage was taken, and destroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear, that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defense of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the publick calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismay'd the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the publick funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece: the Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to shew that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation

tion of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia's being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated † hand in Greece, (a) representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for six hundred thousand sesterces, that is about three thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless those sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprized that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to publick faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. * He did not act in that manner for his pri-

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* *Majores nostri — Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. n. 35.*

† *This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that*

it was commonly said, All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.

(a) Strab. l. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 7. c. 38. & l. 35. c. 4. & 10.

* *Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus*

vate interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a masterpiece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not distinguish; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. * He had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never had loss been so irreparable, as that of such a depolite, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed, almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to pos-

mus ipsa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum — Habere quæstui remp. non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam & nefarium. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. n. 76, 77.

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portendas lo-

ciret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. Vell. Patere. l. 1. n. 13.

terity.

terity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the publick good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings amongst the magistrates, was the occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. (a) If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero, taken down, had the impudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defense. He represented Philopæmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the later times; that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people consider-

(a) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, 192.

able services upon several occasions ; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Etolians. The commissioners before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopæmen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus ; which were granted him, tho' they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defense of the memory of Philopæmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor, who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune ; beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow citizen. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus ; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners (*a*) conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving

(*a*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190. &c.

Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places ; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: *That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius ; but that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece ; and having enjoyed there (a) the esteem, gratitude and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king Andriscus was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the great to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five and twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

(a) Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the publick buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

S E C T. V.

Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension and ruin of Greece.

After having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us thro' a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroick virtues, and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states, that compose it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsr. Bossuet observes, (a) who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated

by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learnt the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the olympick games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the publick. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: The Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the State. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republicks, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quited employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or a continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state ; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions either in the armies by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the Mean of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprizing to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in publick employments, and services rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and indued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments ? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We come now to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the obscure compass of their cities, had but faintly dawn, and shone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to shew herself

herself abroad in open day such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the east, overflowed on a sudden like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops both by sea and land against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which shone out at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attention to the publick good, desire of glory, love of their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republicks as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests, at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement,

provement, and defense of, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republicks and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government ; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens ; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defense of places or for the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle ; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty.

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness ; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians ; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great
and

and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defense of their liberty and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury: they however never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamin, and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the Laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to shew.

Fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the
hands

hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned the victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of powers from these causes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeable, coloured their design with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands, which had conquered the universe, could never be removed ; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition ; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery ; because the protectors, whom it called into its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it ; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy

the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power (*a*) that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla (*a*), who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey; (*b*) who fought for the republick. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened Schools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this

(*a*) Strab. l. 9.

(*a*) Plut. in Sylla.

(*b*) Diod. l. 42. p. 191. & l. 47. p. 339.

glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematicks, the science of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method : All the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shews better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny (a) the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of that province by Trajan.

“ Call to mind, dear Maximus, that you are going
 “ into Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece
 “ where learning and the polite arts had their birth ;
 “ where even agriculture was invented, according to
 “ the common opinion. Remember, that you are
 “ sent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any
 “ such there were ; who by their virtues, actions, alli-
 “ ances, treaties and religion, have known how to pre-
 “ serve the liberty they received from nature. Revere
 “ the gods their founders ; respect their heroes, the anci-
 “ ent glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of
 “ their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and even
 “ fables and vanity of that people. Remember it is
 “ from those sources that we have derived our law ;

(a) Lib. 8. c. 24.

“ that we did not impose our laws upon them, after
 “ we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs,
 “ at our request, before they were acquainted with the
 “ power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you
 “ are going; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command.
 “ It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them
 “ of that faint image, that shadow which they re-
 “ tain of their ancient liberty.”

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chrysostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves (*a*), who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated Philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being entrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole east, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes some-where, that no Greek

(*a*) Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek, was in no great estimation.

A R T I C L E III.

It seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am however obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly and at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it, when it is necessary to be set right : I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne, that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty five, to three thousand nine hundred and forty six.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire, that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thousand nine hundred and thirty nine,



S E C T. I.

A chronological abridgment of the history of the kings

A. M.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

3824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned something more than 34 years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes or Physcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third article.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, 3840, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five years. 3859. Ptolemæus Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter.

DEMETRIUS Nicator.

3859.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom. 3860.

DIODOTES TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne. 3861.

3863.

Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner and confine him. He had reigned seven years.

Demetrius

A. M.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

3874. Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his first wife.

3877. Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

PTOLEMY

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra Demetrius's wife marries him. 3864.

Antiochus Sidetes 3873. marches against the Parthians.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain. 3874.

Demetrius is killed by Zebina.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA, supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after. 3877.

Cleopatra wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

SELEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.

3880.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.

3881.

Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after. 3882.

Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.

3884.

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3887. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds Physcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra his eldest sister, and marry Selena his youngest sister,

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: He had reigned ten years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS THE 3890.
CYZICENIAN, son of
Cleopatra and Antio-
chus Sidetes, takes arms
against Grypus.

Cleopatra, whom La- 3891.
thyus had been obliged
to repudiate, marries the
Cyzicenan. She is killed
by the order of Tryphe-
na wife of Grypus.

The Cyzicenan gains 3892.
a victory over Grypus,
and drives him out of
Syria.

Grypus is reconciled
with his brother the
Cyzicenan.

The two brothers are 3893.
reconciled, and divide
the empire of Syria.

Cleopatra gives her 3903.
daughter Selena to An-
tiochus Grypus.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty 3907.
seven years.

SELEUCUS his son succeeds him.

Antiochus the Cyzi- 3910.
cenian is overthrown,
and put to death.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.

3916. Alexander is expelled himself: He had reigned nineteen years. He died soon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS EU- 3911.
SEBES, son of the Cy-
zicenian, causes himself
to be declared king.

Eusebes marries Se-
lena widow of Grypus.

3912.

ANTIOCHUS XI.
brother of Seleucus,
and second son of Gry-
pus, assumes the dia-
dem, and is killed by
Eusebes.

PHILIP his brother,
third son of Grypus,
succeeds him.

3913.

DEMETRIUS EU-
CHARES, fourth son of
Grypus, is established
upon the throne at Da-
mascus, by the assist-
ance of Lathyrus.

3914.

Eusebes, overthrown 3916.
by Philip and Demetri-
us, takes refuge amongst
the Parthians.

He is re-established 3918.
upon the throne by their
means.

Demetrius, having
been taken by the Par-
thians, ANTIOCHUS
DIONYSUS, fifth son
of Grypus, is placed
upon the throne of Da-
mascus, and is killed
the following year.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwise Berenice, and kills her seventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.

3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect **TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA**. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.

3921.

Eusebes takes refuge 3923. in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.

Selena his wife retains part of Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria, and gives her two sons a good education.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria, being unpro- 3935. vided with troops, **ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS**, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.

Pompey deprives An- 3939. tiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him.

SECT. II.

Antiochus Eupator, aged nineteen, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long an hostage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two Ptolemies, brothers and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.

WE have long lost sight of the * history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connexion with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator (a), aged only nineteen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter at his death sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner, as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the

* It is treated last towards the end of book 18. article 2. sect. 2, and 3.

(a) An. Mun. 384c. Before

Christ 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 ix. 29. & x. 10, 13. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 14.

reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted for the repossession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time Ptolemy Macron, governor of Coelo-Syria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For, how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length they did so much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being confer'd on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus (a) at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit

(a) 1 Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38.

him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels, desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience, with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

Demetrius, (*b*) son of Seleucus Philopator, who from the year his father died had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his twenty third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences of the two kings of Egypt.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3847. Before Christ 163. Polyb. Legat. 107. Justin. l. 34. c. 3. Appian in Syr. p. 114.

Lyfias (*a*), terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourscore thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourscore elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants that worshiped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there* appeared a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lyfias (*b*), weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, *believing the Jews invincible, when supported by the aid of the Almighty God*, made a treaty with Judas, and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of an hundred and twenty thou-

(*a*) 2 Maccab. ix. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 16—63. Joseph. Antiq. c. 12.

(*b*) 2 Maccab. xi. 15.

* It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.

sand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to five and twenty thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved, that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity and success in war. He shewed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of an hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse, two and thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with Lyfias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, **THE VICTORY OF GOD**, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them in the night attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Tho' the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt, but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people,
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and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant thro' the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas however, and his troops fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortrefs of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defense, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would like them have been obliged to surrender, if providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lyfias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the east, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news Lyfias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip
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out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

The troubles (a) occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design by all these circumstances was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse

(a) An. Mun. 3842. Before Christ 162. Porphy. in Cr. Euf. Scap. p. 60, & 68. Died. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. 5. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 113. Epit. Liv. l. 46.

their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank they assured him, that it was ; neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprized them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it, till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth ; and orders were given to the questors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied at the expence of the publick with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him ; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon : Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to
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the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, tho' Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his elder brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator. That at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him, and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend, it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of
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the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him into possession of it.

During (*a*) that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time (*b*), informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal

(*a*) Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 324.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3843. Before Christ 161. Polyb. Legat. 132. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

to evacuate the island of Cyprus according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Phyfcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica, but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, thro' his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometor, and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, shewed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Tho' Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and could not be the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defense. Orders were sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him into possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

Phyfcon (a) by this means, with an army, which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expect-

(a) An. Mund. 3847. Before Christ 157.

ed, that having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing, and not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader, who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments which rise from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

S E C T. III.

Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the name of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus : death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander espouses the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is destroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the same time.

WE have (a) seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who

(a) An. Mun. 3842. Before Christ 162. Appian in Syr, p. 117. Polyb. Legat. 114, and 122. Cicer. Philip. 9. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. 34. c. 3.

went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the great after the battle of mount Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Leptinus, was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lyfias the regent of the kingdom had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest, that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify by that silence their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of which they reserved the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men, who had lost their lives in the defense of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon shewed

* This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family, who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. 5. n. 4.
 ———Octavius, who became em-

peror, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

him how much they were in the right: As the senate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification of a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius, the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with most warmth to put it in immediate execution with secrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him *. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had stolt away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius (a) having landed at Tripoli, in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lyfias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the newcomer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes,

* *That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.*

(a) 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. and 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12, 13. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. 34. c. 3.

Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of SOTER, or SAVIOUR, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch; after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers; advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news
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of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple, when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprizes of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him except eight hundred men. Judas, with that small number, thro' an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he

he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to re-call Bacchis.

Demetrius (*a*) indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity (*b*), he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand * pieces of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gra-

(*a*) An. Mun. 3844. Before Christ 162. Polyb. Legat. 120.

Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. 25.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3845. Before Christ 159. Polyb. Legat. 122.

* They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

itude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occasions taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves without doubt the right of exacting when they pleased a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius, (*a*) who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and on the other to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspension of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who conti-

(*b*) An. Mun. 3850. Before Christ 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 3. Athen. l. 10. p. 440. Justin. l. 35. c. 1.

nued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprize succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed (*a*). The malecontents were supported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

When he was fully prepared (*b*), he begun by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he

(*a*) Polyb. Legat. 138, & 140. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. 5. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3851. Before Christ 153.

did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the male-contents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defense. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to 'bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still out-bid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest

of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at pleasure.

The two kings (*a*) having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having besides this the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

It was at the same time (*b*), and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

(*a*) An. Mun. 3852. Before
Christ 152.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3853. Before
Christ 151.

The two competitors (*c*) for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as (*d*) Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III. having (*e*) been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and most intimate confident. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: At

(*c*) An. Mun. 3854. Before
Christ 150.

(*d*) 1 Maccab. x. 51, 65.

(*e*) Joseph. contra Appian. l. 2.

the same time the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms (*f*): *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of destruction.* (M. Rollin says, the city of the sun, or Heliopolis.) *In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord and perform it.*

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and at the same time the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer sacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more in consequence to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala (*g*), finding himself in the peaceable

(*f*) Isa. xix. 18—21. Justin. l. 35. c. 2. Jos. Antiq.
 (*g*) An. Mun. 3856. Before l. 13. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x 67, 89.
 Christ 148. Liv. Epit. l. 50. Died. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia, Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who had continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counsel and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of male-contents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could assemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Coelo-Syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander: But his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above eight thousand men.

Ptolemy Philometor, to whom (*b*) Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to shew their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time (*i*) in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with five hundred horse to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person, in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who ex-

(*b*) An. Mun. 3858. Before Christ 146.

(*i*) An. Mun. 3859. Before Christ 145.

* He is called *Emalcuel* in the *Maccabees*.

pressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of *Nicator*, that is to say the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

S E C T. VI.

Physcon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physcon's excessive follies and debauches. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regreted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Aristonicus seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.

CLeopatra, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place (a) the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cy-

(a) An. Mun. 3859. Before 1. 2. Justin, l. 38. c. 8. Vol. Christ 145. Joseph. contr. App. Max. l. 9. c. 1.

renaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defense, caused Onias and Dosithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon given to this prince, was only a nick-name. That which he took himself was *Evergetes*, which signifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to say on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria (*b*) affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left everything to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all

(*b*) Died. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20 — 37. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 3.

the Egyptian soldiers ; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterward happened.

Jonathan however, seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes

for the sum of (c) three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch (d), and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprize, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been entrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights. His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length, between the force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

(c) *Three hundred thousand crowns.*

(d) Justin. l. 38. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 9. Appian. in

Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. 52. Strab. l. 16. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem (a) with vigour, but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison, which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion to his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly, that they should all deliver up their Arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of six score thousand men, and invested the palace with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed that multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded peace ; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Juda and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned home laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppressions, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

(a) AN. MUN. 3860. Before CHRIST 144.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Tho' the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other male-contented, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the Kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of *Theos*, which signifies *the God*.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœlo-Syria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon (a), seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his

(a) 1 Maccab. xii. 39, 54. xiii. 1-30. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. 36. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. 55.

design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to found him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprize the two thousand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan, and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications, began by Jonathan, at Jerusalem.

And

And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king an hundred talents; (a) that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Tho' Simon saw clearly, that this proposal was no more than a feint, however that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor notwithstanding did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, (b) on his return into winter quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death, and believing after that he had no body to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magni-

(a) *An hundred thousand crowns.*

(b) AN. MUN. 3851. Before CHRIST 143. Diod. Legar. 31.

ficient

ficent embassy, with a golden statue of victory of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome (*a*) were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea (*b*), and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that Prince, a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility ; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length (*c*) recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the east, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost over-ran the whole east, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their

(*a*) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16---40.

(*b*) Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34---42. & xiv. 38---41. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 11.

(*c*) AN. MUN. 3863. Before CHRIST 141. Justin, l. 36. c. 1.

l. 38. c. 9. l. 41. c. 5. & 6.

1 Maccab. xiv. 1---49. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 9. & 12. Orosius l. 5. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the east, with that encrease of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the east, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people;

* Non multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reli-

quit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, peritiusq; patriæ quam liberis consulendum. *Justin.*

convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state than the advancement of his own family, and to forget in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That Prince after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's ; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by shewing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, tho' in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, out of which he composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories ; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon
solid

solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations, of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defense of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: they declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken (a) and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession

(a) AN. MUN. 3864. Before CHRIST 149.

of the crown, he quited an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Those desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed, that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any farther, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater when he should ascend the throne.

Accordingly the beginning of the following year, (a) he made a descent into Syria with an army of

(a) AN. MUN. 3865. Before CHRIST 139. 1 Maccab. xv. 1--41. xvi. 1--10. Joseph. Antig. l. 13. c. 12 & 13.

foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamæa, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, from the word *Zidah*, which has the same signification in the Syriack language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate in consequence caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus King of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands, with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in con-

* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, tho' prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

sequence they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt. † History relates nothing of him during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in publick the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom in the reign of Alexander Bala the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

† AN. MUN. 3866. Before CHRIST 138. Just. l. 38. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 361. Athen. l. 4. p. 184. & l. 6. p. 252. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 1 & 2.

But in the following years, (a) whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that first minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of his prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon without any reason caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever would come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragement and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses, that had been abandoned, were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place, to which these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors

(a) AN. MUN. 3868. Before CHRIST 136.

of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Musæum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second, and third, following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied, or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much encreased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive where-ever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds to (a) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had

(a) Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. 6. p. 273. & l. 12. p. 549. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3. Diod. Legat. 32.

orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece ; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were ; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed ; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panetius the philosopher, and five domestics *. Not his domestics, says an historian, but his victories were considered : He was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Tho' during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats ; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans ; but luxury and pomp soon assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their

* Cum per socios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur ; nec quantum auri &

argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, æstimabatur. *Val. Max.*

own eyes, or were informed upon the places themselves, the infinite number of cities and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom ; the strength of its natural situation ; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found, that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application ; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his * body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: Nothing was ever worse put together. His statue was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of *Physcon*. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all its deformity might be seen thro' it. He never appeared in publick but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling ; *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.*

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature

* Quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim & vultu deformis, & statura brevis & sagina ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam seditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi visu inspicienda præberentur, quæ

omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant. *Justin. l. 8. c. 8.*

Athenæus says, πρὸς τοὺς ποδὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἡ δὲ Σκίπωνα. Which the interpreter translates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus ; instead of nisi propter Scipionem.

itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissolution and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

Attalus, king of Pergamus, died (a) about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, tho' he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she

(a) An. Mun. 3866. Before me-r. p 897. Diod. in Excerpt.
 Christ 138. Justin, l. 36 c. 4. Vales p. 370.
 Strab. l. 13 p. 624 Plut. in De-

had been taken very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous ; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to shew himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and sowed all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesom, herbs ; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He past all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off (b) in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a Will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was

(b) An. Mun. 3871. Before Christ 133.

expressed in these terms, (c) LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES.

As soon as it was read, 'Tiberius Gracchus, Tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect, That all the ready money, which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time afterwards.

Aristonicus (d) however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

As his party grew stronger every day, the (e) Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the parti-

(c) Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. 2. c. 20 Justin. l. 36. c. 4. & 37. c. 1. Vel. Patere. l. 2. c. 4. Strab. l. 14 p. 646. Oros. l. 5. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. 4. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 2.

(d) An. Mur. 3872. Before Christ 132.

(e) An. Mun. 3873. Before Christ 131.

cular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

Notwithstanding such powerful supports, (f) having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to (g) Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and sometime after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war, as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which

(f) An. Mun. 3874. Before
Christ 130.

(g) An. Mun. 3875. Before
Christ 129.

was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the Great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Mægara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to (b) Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shewn there as a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having * forged a false will of Attalus's, in

(b) An. Mun. 3878. Before Christ 126.

* Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristoni-

cum, quia patrum regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere. *Apud Sallust. in fragm.*

order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: But it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprizing that Horace in one of his odes seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate, that they had attained the succession by fraud:

(i) Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

*Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.*

However there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

S E C T. V.

Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. That city surrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians and perishes in it. Phraates, king of the Parthians defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Physcon commits most horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. Physcon returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means Zebina dethrones Demetrius, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Physcon's death.

(i) Hor. Od. 18 l. 21

SIMON having been slain (a) by treason, with two of his sons, John another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

(a) An. Mun. 3869. Before. seph. Antiq l. 13. c. 16. Diod.
Christ 135. 1 Maccab. xvi. Jo- Eclog. l. p. 901.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: The peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of (b) five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going (c) to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the * questor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator (d) had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain

(b) *Five hundred thousand crowns.*

(c) *An. Mun. 3870. Before Christ 134. Epit. Liv. l. 57.*

* *The questor was the treasurer of the army.*

(d) *An. Mun 3873. Before*

Christ 131. Justin l. 38. c. 9. & 10. l. 39. c. 1. Oros. l. 5. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. 9. c. 1. Athen. l. 5. p. 210. & l. 10. p. 439. & l. 12. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this design or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of fourscore thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but if two thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those that administered to it. * Gold and silver glittered universally, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

* Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculearentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro di-

micant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere quasi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent. Just.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the (g) winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before-mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests that nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was over-powered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners: so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch (h) relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some

(g) An. Mun. 3874. Before
Christ 130.

(h) Plut. in Apophthegm. p.
184.

poor people, who received him in the best manner they could without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting, made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them, by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday.*

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates, before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead (a), Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions, which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his

(a) Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17. Strab. l. 16. p. 761. Justin. l. 36. c. 1.

dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates (*a*), flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home to remove all thoughts of inquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived the affair was terminated, and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be

(*a*) An. Mun. 3875. Before Christ 129. Justin. l. 39. c. 1. & l. 42. c. 1, & 2.

revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity ; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the great.

During all these revolutions (a) in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and supply the places of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them

(a) An. Mun. 3174. Before Christ 130. Justin l. 38. c. 8, 9. l. 39. c. 1. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2, 7. Oros. l. 5. c. 10. Epit. l. 59, 60. Dioc. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374, 376. Jos. ph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17.

all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quited it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But first, apprehending (a) that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed, that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and un-heard of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the publick, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who

(a) An. Mun. 3875. Before Christ 129.

had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marfyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defense of the country.

Ptolemy Phyicon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marfyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon; it was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius without hesitation accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleopatra queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had re-possessed himself of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

Phyſcon, (a) as ſoon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-aſſumed the government. For after the defeat of Marſyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppoſe him. After having employed ſome time in ſtrengthening himſelf, to revenge the invaſion of Demetrius, he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the ſon of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himſelf out for the ſon of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Phyſcon lent him an army to put him into poſſeſſion of it. He was no ſooner in Syria, than without examining the juſtice of his pretenſions the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the perſon who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damafcus in Cœlo-Syria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongſt the Parthians, took this occaſion to be revenged, and cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut againſt him. Would not one think, that in the age, of which we now treat, there was a kind of diſpute and emulation between the princes and princeſſes, who ſhould diſtinguiſh them-

(a) An. Mun. 3877. Before Chriſt 127.

selves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest, and to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus. who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceding year an (*a*) embassy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places of which he had made cession to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem: upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenour of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17.

At the time we speak of (*a*), incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thousand souls.

We have said, that Cleopatra (*b*) had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of which, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman, and a mother, could be capable of committing so horrid and excessive a crime: but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to re-

(*a*) An. Mun. 3379. Before Christ 125. E. 4. Liv. 1. 60. Or. 5. l. 5. c. 11.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3280. Before Christ 124. Liv. Epit. l. 60. Justin. l. 39. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

concile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all that approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

Cleopatra, (a) after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to herself. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son Antiochus to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from the other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of * *Gripus*, taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him *Philometor*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

(a) An. Mund. 3831. Before Christ 123.

* *ῥίππος*, in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

Zebina (*a*) having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of a part of the Syrian empire, Physcon who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

After the defeat and death of Zebina (*b*), Antiochus Grypus believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself, and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her

(*a*) An. Mun. 3882. Before Christ 122.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3884. Before Christ 120.

to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of * three kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the publick, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity; till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt (a), after having reigned twenty nine-years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

S E C T. VI.

Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physcon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judæa. His death. Aristobulus succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander Janæus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander his youngest brother on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom

* The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus,

by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyziceman, by Antiochus Sidetes.

(a) An. Mun. 3887. Before Christ 117. Porphyri. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians choose Tigranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.

PHyfcon (a) at his death left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recal him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However as that is but a kind of

(a) An. Mun. 3887. Before Christ 117. Justin. l. 39. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. 17. p. 795. Plin. l. 2. c. 67. & l. 6. c. 30. Porphyry. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

* Λαθυρος signifies a kind of pea, called in latin cicer, from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistent.

nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

Antiochus Gripus (*a*), king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had entrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenan. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenan was reduced to take up arms in his own defense, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

Cleopatra, (*b*) whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenan. She brought him an * army for her dowry, to assist him against his competitor. Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenan having the misfortune to be defeated retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Triphena his wife was very earnest with

(*a*) An. Mun. 3890. Before Christ 114.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3891. Before Christ 113.

* We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words; exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit;

which shews that Cleopatra having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read Cypri instead of Grypi, which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Tho' her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable. Grypus would not have a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the sanctity of the asylum, where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyziceni. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations. That Cleopatra was her sister, and his near † relation. That therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities*. Tryphena, far from giving into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining, that it was not from the motive of compassion but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner, she therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands, with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of

† Her father Phylon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

* Sed quanto Grypus abruit, tan-

to furor muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordie hæc verba, sed amoris esse. *Justin.*

ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished (*a*). The Cyzicenean returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian (*b*), but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenean had Coelo-Syria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers (*c*) were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenean, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was

(*a*) An. Mun. 3892. Before Christ 112.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3893. Before Christ 111.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3894. Before Christ 110. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 17, 19. defeated,

defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory (a) returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenian, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation; and out of regard for them she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself, with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing, that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprize, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of

(a) An. Mun. 3895. Before Christ 109.

affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut thro' the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod who gave the new city he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus (*a*) saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

But towards (*b*) the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured by all sorts of favours to engage them in his interests. Besides having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents not long before he had in-

(*a*) Σεβαστος, in Greek signifies Augustus.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3399. Before Christ 103.

vited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: That he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect. “ Since you desire, that
“ the truth should be told you with freedom, if you
“ would prove yourself just, renounce the high-priest-
“ hood, and content yourself with the civil govern-
“ ment.” Hyrcanus was surprized, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar (a) would have had reason; for the law was express in that point: but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all that were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure however occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity

(a) Lev. xxiv. 15.

of his birth, and in consequence his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered, than to the law itself, tho' often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and in consequence another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that imposing appearance, they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still their more distinguishing characteristic, and out-did all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted

concerted by the whole cabal of which Eleazar had only been the tool ; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved ; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principal of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime ; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged, and imprisoned. So much lenity in so heinous a case made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated ; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited by decree the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition ; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance ; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus (*a*) did not long survive this storm : he died the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus (*b*) had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons (*c*), and obliged him to quit

(*a*) An. Mun 3897. Before Christ 107.

(*b*) Justin. l. 18. c. 4.

(*c*) Those two sons died before him.

Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and enflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he desired to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quited.

Alexander, (*a*) king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of

(*a*) An. Mun. 3893. Before Christ 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20, 21.

Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost thirty thousand men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put into cauldrons in order to their being dressed, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed, that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander had been undone. For after so considerable a loss it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

That (*a*) princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews, of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia (*b*). She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest Jewels. For their security, in

(*a*) An. Mun. 3901. Before Christ 103.

(*b*) Appian, in Mithridat. p. 186. Et de bel. civil. p. 414.

case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœlo-Syria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defense, in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. The troops (a) Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra however pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

(a) An. Mun. 3902. Before Christ 102.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus (*a*), after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She on her side retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being (*b*) informed upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenean, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums of

(*a*) An. Mun. 3903. Before Christ 101.

(*b*) Justin. l. 39. c. 4.

money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenean with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenean had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant sollicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, tho' they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

The death of Antiochus Grypus (*a*) happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; The four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucharis, and Antiochus Dionysus. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

(*a*) An. Mun. 3907. Before Christ 97.

Ptolemy Apion (*a*), son of Physcon king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyziceniian seized Antioch (*b*), after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia (*c*), who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates king of the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyziceniian (*d*), who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole

(*a*) An. Mun. 3908. Before Christ 56. Epit. Liv. l. 7c. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. 39. c. 5.

(*b*) Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3909. Before Christ 95. Justin. l. 38. c. 3. Ap-

pian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. 11. p. 532.

(*d*) An. Mun. 3910. Before Christ 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicene, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus *, where he caused himself to be crowned king. From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory (a) over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

Antiochus and Philip, the twin (b) sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon encreased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politick princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucharis, the fourth son of

* *An island and city of Phœnicia.*

(a) *An. Mun. 3911. Before Christ 93.*

(b) *An. Mun. 3912. Before Christ 92.*

Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip however still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands almost at the same time: This was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Cœlo-Syria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs (a) were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt, but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene

(a) An. Mun. 3915. Before Christ 89. Justin, l. 39. c. 4. Pausan. in Art. p. 15. Athen. l. 12. p. 550.

as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians (*b*), weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calami-

(*b*) An. Mun. 3921. Before Christ 83. Justin. l. 40. c. 1. & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Jos. Antiq. l. 13. c. 24.

ties, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy, named Megadates, whom he did not recal from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria, and (c) reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Sometime (d) after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was

(c) Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. 17. p. 196.

(d) Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

at length taken after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long survive the (e) ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla (f), at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla the master of Rome, and in consequence dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

Sometime (g) after Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having first made the Roman people his heirs.

(e) An. Mun. 3923. Before Christ 81.

(f) Appian. de bell. civ. p. 414. Porphy. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

(g) An. Mun. 3928. Before

Christ 76. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. de bell. civil. l. 1. p. 420. Epit. Liv. l. 70. & 93. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica also did the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had passed since, during which term, sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

S E C T. VII.

Sclena, sister of Lathyrus, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt, she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called Antiochus, on his return goes to Sicily. Verres, prætor of that island, takes from him a golden scone, designed for the capitol. Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king, and set Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his stead. Alexander at his death makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence some years after, they order Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be deposed, confiscate his fortunes, and seize that island. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commission.

SOME (a) * troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made

(a) An. Mun. 3931. Before Christ 73. Cic. 6. in Ver. Orat. n. 61, 67.

* Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse: qui venerant non propter Syriæ

made Selena the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest *, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things

Syriæ regnum, nam id sine controversiâ obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se & Selenam matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrum profecti sunt.

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus ve-

neratis, quem ille & audierat multa secum præclara habere, & suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificentique triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.—Omni bus curat rebus instructum & paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut & istum copiose ornatum, & se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had made him.

He * invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praises and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From † thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rifle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of shewing them to his workmen. The prince, who

* Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copas omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ ut mos est regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi. — Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum & gratum illud esse convivium.

† Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis caloribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non novit, sine ulla suspitione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam nullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the great vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider them more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all: ¶ The kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch-sconce with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprize might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendor to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres * was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the sconce

¶ Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite — Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum, regeshi, quos dico, Romanum cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent; quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò ostendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, & magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, & clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis

Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

* Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celum voluerat: non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud antè perciperent oculis, quàm populus Romanus. Iste petita rege, & cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat: cupere se dixit inspicere, neque se aliis videnti potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili esset &

sconce concealed ; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let no body else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight ; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a present worthy of a prince ; worthy of a king of Syria ; worthy of the capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vye with the materials ; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

& regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quò posteaquam attulerunt, involucrisque reiectis constituerunt, ille clamare cepit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis & plurimis gemmis esse debebat ; ea varietate operum, ut ars certare vide-

retur cum copia ; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare : nequam se esse satiatum. Juber illos discedere, & candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

The * king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion: one day, two days, several days passed, and the scone was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? that very scone which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The † king upon that withdrew to the public place, and with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice,

* Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubeat iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. O hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare & vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Cæpitolini & hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes

testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrimè cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. At se comperisse, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

† Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitiaque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ

voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a scone of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and jewels which Verres had from him; but that to see that scone taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconsolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that scone was already consecrated to Jupiter, however he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey (*b*) deprived him of his kingdom, during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence. And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by

suâ penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse & indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente & cogitatione sua fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Roma-

norum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3839. Before Christ 65.

Rome into the provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. “We * have seen for several years,” says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, “and have suffered in silence, the
 “wealth of all nations to be transferred into the
 “hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine all
 “Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now inclosed in
 “some of the country houses of those rich and unjust men of rapine, whilst money is universally a
 “prodigious rarity every where else. And we have
 “just reason to believe, that ourselves connive in all
 “these crying and terrible disorders, as those who
 “commit, take no manner of pains to conceal,
 “them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations
 “from the eyes and knowledge of the public.”

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men’s most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that

* Patimur multos jam annos & silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. — Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum

esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis. *Cic. in Ver. ult. de suppl. n.* 125, 126.

continually

continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them. His death (c) did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus his younger brother had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing (d) but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed *Auletes*, that is to say *the player upon the flute*, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the publick games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him: Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into

(c) An. Mun. 3925. Before Christ 79. Joseph. Antiquit. xiii. 23, 24. & de bell. Judaic. i, 4. & An. Mun. 3934. Before Christ 70.

(d) An. Mun. 3939. Before Christ 65. Sueton. in Jul Cæs. c. 11. Trogus in Prol. 39. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

consideration by the senate. Some (*e*) were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state are war, victory, conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific

(*e*) Cicer. Orat. 2. in Rullum. n. 41, 43.

and legitimate encrease of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but is no less dangerous on that account, I mean Seduction : When to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more solicitous either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner ? First, gratitude : the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendor to the Romans ; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates : And next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors ; for bastards were not looked upon

as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: And the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependance upon mute laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica.

Cyrenaica. The Romans out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence long against them. There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people, and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced by reiterated defeats to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to assure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy

upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniencies and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the times of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniencies, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders, with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages, occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest, and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: But there was always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for

the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius (a), who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small an one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people ; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended, that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation ; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had credit and address enough to have the justest of all the Romans elected ; I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says an historian, for his many irregularities ; as if a man's

(a) An. Mun. 3946. Before Christ 58. Strab. l. 4. p. 684.]

* P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relegavit. Quippe

legem tulit, ut is— mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. 2. c. 45.

vices sufficiently authorised the seizing of all his fortunes.

Cato (*a*), upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not however in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, tho' he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby * shewed, that he loved them better than he did himself; by title king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines; after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost seven thousand talents, (one million and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publicly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoicks, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and shew themselves not such as they had been in the glo-

(*a*) Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* Proculdubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessus

est; titulo rex insulae, animo pecuniae miserabile mancipium.

rious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. † “ The Roman
 “ people, says Cicero, instead of making it their ho-
 “ nour and almost a duty as formerly, to re-establish
 “ the kings their enemies, whom they had conquered,
 “ upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally,
 “ or at least a constant friend to the republic, who
 “ had never done them any wrong, of whom neither
 “ the senate nor any of our generals had ever the
 “ least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left
 “ him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a
 “ sudden without any formality, and all his effects
 “ sold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of
 “ the same Roman people. This, continues Cicero,
 “ shews other kings, upon what they are to rely for
 “ their security ; from this fatal example they learn,
 “ that amongst us, there needs only the secret in-
 “ trigue of some seditious tribune, for depriving them
 “ of their thrones, and plundering them at the same
 “ time of all their fortunes.”

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans !) should lend his name and services in so no-

† Ptolemæus, rex, si nondum socius ac non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atq; avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura & scepro & illis insignibus regis, raconi publico subjiceretur, & amercante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis om-

nibus publicaretur—Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, fuit ; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est : vivus ut aiunt est & videns, cum victu & vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius furetti anni perduto exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spectari (posse) & regno omninudar. Cic. orat. pro Sextio. n. 57.

torious

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torious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for
sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct open-
ly, shews however in the same discourse I have now
cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by
way of excusing him, how much he had disho-
noured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes,
king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus,
came thither to him. I reserve for the following book
the history of that prince, which merits a particular
attention.



B O O K XX.

TH E twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

A R T I C L E I.

Abridgment of the history of the Jews, from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the rank of king, to the reign of Herod the great, the Idumæan.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of what it was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

S E C T. I.

Reign of Aristobulus the first, which lasted two years.

HYrcanus, high-priest and prince of the Jews (a), had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alex-

(a) An. Mun. 3898. Before Christ 106 Joseph. Antiq. xii. 19, &c. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

ander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Abfalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa from the Babylonish Captivity, had done besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in a prison during his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed (*a*), he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be

(*a*) An. Mun. 3898. Before Christ 106. Joseph. Antiq. xii. 19. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmonæans. It shews, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Cœlo-Syria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the Army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

S E C T. II.

Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years.

Salome, the wife of Aristobulus (*a*), immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person (*b*), he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, altho' they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander the youngest of her sons reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten

(*a*) An. Mun. 3899. Before Christ 107. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20.
18 de bel. Jud. i. 3. (*b*) Id. Antiq. xiv. 8.

months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and enflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

This loss, great as it was (*a*), did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthédon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defense, after the departure of Lathyrus. Those two posts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

As soon as his affairs would permit (*b*), he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lyfimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as him-

(*a*) An. Mun. 3904. Before Christ 100. (*b*) An. Mun. 3906. Before Christ 98. An. Mun. 3907. Before Christ 97.

self, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed him almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner (a). At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of *Slave*; a reproach, which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, that attended him every where.

When Alexander saw the storm which had rose against him (a) a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews (b), incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up (c), carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day: when they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that

(a) An. Mun. 3910. Before Christ 94. (b) An. Mun. 3912. Before Christ 92. (c) An. Mun. 3918. Before Christ 86.

brought a quartan ague upon him (*a*), of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty-seven.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldest son is high-priest during that time.

According to the advice of her husband, (*b*) Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, tho' they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made

(*a*) An. Mun. 3925. Before Christ 79. (*b*) An. Mun. 3926. Before Christ 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23. 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been : which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest : he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them ; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees always continued (*a*) their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

(*a*) An. Mun. 3931. Before Christ 73. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of enquiries, or if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country; in order to their seeking an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the enquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer; and that therefore they never would come into it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lye at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct;

conduct ; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands ; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper (*a*), which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which according to a plan he had given of them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people as well as the army were intirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without controul under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standards of Aristobulus ; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect : besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design ; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care

(*a*) An. M. n. 3934. Before Christ 70.

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of them to the Pharisees. However she appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quited Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

S E C T. IV.

Reign of Aristobulus II. which continued six years.

IT was agreed by the accommodation (a), that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quited the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from

* Baris was a castle situate upon same rock.
an high rock without the works of (a) An. Mun. 3935. Before
the temple, which were upon the Christ 69. the

the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown (*a*). But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria (*b*). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: That the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land.

(*a*) An. Man. 3939. Before Christ 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8, & de bell. Jud. 1.—5. (*b*) Id. xiv. 5. Id. de bell. Jud. 1.—5.

And to confirm what he alledged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity ; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the publick affairs ; that the people despised him, and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendor and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart ; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass thro' Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the necessary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defense. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms ; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions,

he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey however advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard; but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defense, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When on the contrary he had the least reason to suspect, that he

would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place, where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho ; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money ; but when that lieutenant general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made ; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defense.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place ; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it, to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon

don their enterprize, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with a surprizing unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand* talents

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good-fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECT. V.

Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years.

POMPEY having put an end to the war (a), caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and

* Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hec, ut multa alia, sapientur, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum firmi obrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem & Judæorum & hostium impedimento

præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorem institutis abhorrebat. Cic. pro Flacco. n. 67—69.

(a) An. Mun. 3941. Before Christ 63.

left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

Hyrcanus (*a*) finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high priesthood †. He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

Crassus (*b*) upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopt at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents, that is to say, about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Cæsar (*c*), after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead; and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed, that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity

(*a*) An. Mun. 3947. Before Christ 57.

† Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 6.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3950. Before Christ 54.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3957. Before Christ 47. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de bel. Jud. 1. 8.

after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient foot.

Antipater caused the (*a*) government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasaël his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar (*b*), at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles,

Pacorus, (*c*) son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasaël, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains into his hands. Phasaël, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. For Hyrcanus his life was granted him, but to render him incapable of the

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. i. 8.

(*b*) An. Mun. 39⁶c. Before Christ 44. Joseph. Antiq. xv. 17.

(*c*) An. Mun. 39⁶i. Before Christ 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 25. de bell. Jud. i. 11.

priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off. For according to the levitical law (a), it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. (b) He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendor. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

(a) Levit. xxi. 16—24.

(b) Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and

his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journies by sea and land.

S E C T. VI.

Reign of Antigonus of only two years duration.

IT was not so easy for Herod (*a*) to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne, which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod, (*b*) who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The at-

(*b*) An. Mun. 3965. Before Christ 39.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3965. Before Christ 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de bell. Jud. i. 13.

tachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place however held out against them many months with exceeding resolution, and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defense of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

The Jews (*a*) being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, tho' Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Anthony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money (*b*). He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed

(*a*) An. Mund. 3957. Before Christ 37.

(*b*) Joseph. Antiq. ibid. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. 49. p. 405.

upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and till then unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing, or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: *The (a) scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. The scepter or rod* (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have preheminance and authority over the

(a) Gen. xlix. 10.

other tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that preheminance of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published*.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in consequence stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy, it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? in the times of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there.

* By F. Babaty Esq. S. J. Jacques.

How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point ! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty ?

A R T I C L E II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threescore and fourteen years ; of which two hundred and fifty-four were before Jesus Christ, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave (a) Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*.

(a) An. Mun. 3754 Before Christ 2,0. Vol. VII.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus(*a*), who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus, surnamed the great (*b*), was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus (*c*) marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRIAPATIUS, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldest son.

Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES (*d*), whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

PHRAATES II. (*e*) succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had

(*a*) An. Mun. 3768. Before Christ 236. Vol. VII.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3792. Before Christ 212. Vol. VIII.

* The Abbe Lenguezue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between

Arsaces II. and Priapatus. Justin says nothing of them.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3798. Before Christ 206.

(*d*) An. Mun. 3840. Before Christ 164.

(*e*) An. Mun. 3873. Before Christ 131.

been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown, and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut in pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

ARTABANUS (*a*) his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Justin says, that his great actions acquired him the surname of *Great*.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an hostage. The latter (*b*) was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

* Antiochus Eusebes (*c*) took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

It was the same Mithridates (*d*), as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

Demetrius Eucerus (*e*), who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II. died (*f*), after having reigned forty

(*a*) An. Mun. 3875. Before Christ 129.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3909. Justin. l. 18. c. 3.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3992. Ibid. p. 115.

(*d*) An. Mun. 3914. Before Christ 90.

(*e*) An. Mun. 3915. Before Christ 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

(*f*) An. Mun. 3915. Before Christ 89. Strat. l. 11. p. 532. Plut. in Luc. l. p. 500, &c.

years, generally regreted by his subjects. The domestic troubles, with which his death was followed, and considerably weakened the Parthian empire, made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

PHRAATES (*a*), the son of the latter, was he, who caused himself to be surnamed THE GOD.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Sallust has preserved.

Pompey (*b*) having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

After Pompey's (*c*) return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates (*d*), expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defense. Besieged in Ba-

(*a*) An. Mun. 3935. Before Christ 69.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3938. Before Christ 66.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3948. Before Christ 56.

(*d*) Justin. l. 42. c. 4.

bylon (*a*), and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death; by which means ORODES becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad (*b*), that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, with Pompey for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: He flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already over-ran in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their

(*a*) An. Mun. 3949. Before Christ 55.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3950. Before Christ 54. Plut. in Crass. p. 552. 554. friends

friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city thro' which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and tho' the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived in Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, tho' of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect, *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the * twelfth hour of the day.* And you, Lord Crassus, replied Dejotarus, *are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians.* For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed, (a) that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use: this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pound and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of

* *The twelfth hour was the end of the day.*

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprize to give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion, and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defense. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him a thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke no doubt of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing, and shewing him the palm of his hand; *Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia.* The

ambaf-

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ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit (*a*), Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had so easily overthrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to

(*a*) An. Mun. 3951. Before Christ 53. Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprize. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabafus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six thousand horse, which were part of his guards ; adding, that besides these, he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia ; the reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them : that if they took this rout, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries ; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions ; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him ; and lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable: but Crassus, blinded by providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabafus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that providence blinded Crassus, which is self evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that the Romans under Crassus “ had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would have thought, that, condemned and pursued by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds.” That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men, that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

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He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes, and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because by always keeping upon the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's questor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way.

way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave entirely into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to no body. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult from the deep sands, in which the army found itself engaged in the midst of a vast country all bare, and of a frightful driness, where the eye could discover neither end or boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as an hill, nor a single blade of grass: nothing was to be seen all around but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces against the common enemy: That, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against them that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasus, he only told his couriers, " I have not time at present to consider the affairs

" of

“ of Armenia : I shall go thither soon, and shall then
 “ punish Artabafus for his treachery.

Crassus was so full of his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him ; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that each part, being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his young son Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of five or six hundred men ; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment should eat under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible, as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other, the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing; that it strikes upon, and affects it the most immediately,

ately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear the more terrible.

At first the barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of that hollow square, so well closed, and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, tho' they

had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired ; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians : an operation in reality very wisely conceived ; for in flying they saved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution ; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither those, who had exhausted their quivers, wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was intirely surrounded by them ; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and (a) eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or

(a) *They consisted of near six thousand men.*

rather designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *they don't stand us*, pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered their error; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light-horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated across their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the

heavy-armed horse, they shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and riveted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians. and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which running precipitately upon that heavy armed body killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the center, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending

fending themselves against the barbarians ; but it happened quite otherwise. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation ; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground shewing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, *That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died out of love for him.* A noble sentiment for a young lord ! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot thro' with an arrow, he commanded one of his domesticks to thrust his sword thro' him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners, and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour ; for the greatest part of them were gone with

the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him, that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprized the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young Roman was: *For, said they, it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus.*

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, shewed more constancy and courage on this disgrace, than he had done before; and running thro' the ranks, he cried out. "Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father, who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let
" it

“ it appear in your rage and resentment against the
 “ barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy,
 “ punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves
 “ to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a ne-
 “ cessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire
 “ at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat
 “ Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without costing
 “ them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats
 “ that Rome has acquired the greatest victories.
 “ It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained
 “ to so high a degree of power, but by her patience
 “ and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour
 “ against adversity.”

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to re-animate his troops : but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal and timorous ; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the light-horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body ; except those, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Tho' they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage ; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the barbarians retired ; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it
 more

more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being draged to their king Arfaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress. For they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Tho' they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled

the principal officers, and held a council of war directly ; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations ; so that the troops who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the centinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians ; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, tho' well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been
left

left there, to the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitude, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage thro' them. The barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus were there, or to pursue him if he had quited it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself or Cassius, and to say, that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and to permit them to retire, upon condition
that

that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: That this was more advantageous for both parties than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Cassius should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him, that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians in consequence were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There

There were some, who suspecting, that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called *Sinnachi*, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachi*, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences, with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead around him, fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and if the
night

night came on, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans ; that on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice ; That contrary to the king his master's will, and thro' the necessity of a just defense, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms ; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these barbarians, was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking thro' their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it : but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches ; and went so far as to ac-
cuse

cuse him of cowardice ; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day upon the eminencies and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves when night came on: He even shewed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him ; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words: “ Octavius, and you Petronius, “ with all the officers and captains here present, you “ see the necessity I am under of taking a step I “ would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, “ when you have retired in safety, that you will tell “ all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by “ the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens.” Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands ; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners, and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, *What do I see!* said he, *What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horseback! Let an horse be brought for him immediately.* He imagined, that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, *That there was no reason to be surprized that they came to an interview, each after the * custom of his own country.* Very good, returned Surena, *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Ordes and the Romans: But we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates.* For you Romans, added he, *do not always remember your conventions.* At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for an horse; but Surena told him, there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.

horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery ; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his Word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy ; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped : all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria ; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thoughts but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations : She was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had ; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations,
whose

whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory shewed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival remote people, capable of making head against, and of disputing the empire of the universe with, them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It shewed that the Romans might be overthrown in pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians, was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shewn by them as spoils. The * prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standards of the barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incum-

* Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbara

Turpis maritus vixit? & hostium

(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)

Consenuit focerorum in armis;

Sub rege Medo Marſus & Appulus,

Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ

Oblitus, eternæque Vestæ,

Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

bent

bent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace! For themselves they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus Severus, &c. The surname of *Parthicus* was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates, to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabafus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight, and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit

credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at thirty years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, a thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops, and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defense, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

* *Destruui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito relatur. Nam beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur ex-*

solvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 18.

The next (*a*) year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orfices, an old general, who disposed every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defense, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonía, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking

(*a*) An. Mun. 3953. Before 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18, 20, 21.
 Christ 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.
 epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv.

towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field-battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orfices. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who being situate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves (*b*) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself, who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two amongst the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner, in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings, and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles;

(*b*) *Eleuthero Cilices.*

the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This last is a master-piece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (*c*), that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other, party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events, which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Anthony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who from the lowest condition of (*d*) life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the

(*c*) Plut. in Cic. p. 879

(*d*) Vell. Patere l. 2. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. 6. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. 15. c. 4.

father of Pompey the great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had began to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That (e) general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at

(e) An. Mun. 3965. Before in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. 49. Christ 39. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. 42. c. 4. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian.

Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and

cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him, and as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of

* Orodes, repente filii morte & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non allequi quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post

multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat. *Justin.*

whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendant she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldest and most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken (*f*) possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I Have spoke in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (*a*) of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose

(*f*) An. Mun. 297. Before Christ 37.

(*a*) Strab. l. 12. p. 553, 554.

possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended toward mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other toward Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor ; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time (*b*) Philip, father of Alexander the great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia ; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation ; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes ; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

ARIARATHES I. (*c*) He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

Having joined the Persians (*d*) in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

ARIARATHES II. son of the former, (*e*) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for

(*b*) An. Mun. 3644. Before Christ 352:

Christ 360.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3644. Before Christ 360.

(*e*) An. Mun. 3668. Before Christ 356. Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. 18. p. 599.

(*d*) An. Mun. 3653. Before

the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defense. He had thirty thousand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

As soon as he was apprized of the (*f*) death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

ARIAMNES his eldest son succeeded him (*g*). He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He (*h*) married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the great, an artificial princess, who finding herself barren, had recourse to im-

(*f*) An. Mun. 3689. Before Christ 315.

(*g*) An. Mun. 3720. Before Christ 284.

(*h*) An. Mun. 3814. Before Christ 190.

posture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes; and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

ARIARATHES V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent (*i*) ambassadors to Rome, to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans, in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the east, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes: But Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him the proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him

* He is called so by Polybius, and Holophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

(*i*) Liv. l. 37. n. 40. l. 38. n. 37, & 39.

upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon (*k*) as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of (*l*) Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his

(*k*) An. Mun. 3842. Before Christ 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. 31. p. 865. (*l*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334, & 336.

cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of (*m*) Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had (*n*) retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot con-

* *Four hundred thousand crowns.*

(*m*) *An. Mun.* 3845. Before Christ 159.

(*n*) *Justin.* l. 35. c. 1.

trived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who (a) had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be at age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. (b) He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. (c) His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes

(a) An. Mun. 3875. Before Christ 139. Justin. l. 37. c. 1.

(b) Justin. l. 38. c. 1.

(c) An. Mun. 3913 Before Christ 91.

to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years old in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor (*a*). The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify, that she had three sons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that his son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome, to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty!

(*a*) Justin. l. 38. c. 2.

but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I. (a) This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and re-instated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion (b), was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandson of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero (c), upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose

(a) An. Mun. 3915. Before Christ 89. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176. &c. Justin. l. 38. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

(b) An. Mun. 3938. Before

Christ 66.

(c) An. Mun. 3953. Before Christ 51. Cic. Enst. 2. & 4. l. 15. ad Famil. & Epist. 20. l. 5. ad Attic.

welfare was dear to the senate and people: A glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus (a). They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for Life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of this temple.

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat. *Εν παρόδῳ* consilio & auctoritate, & quod proditoribus ejus ἀπρόσβλητον με, non modò ἀδικο-

δόκῳ, præbui, regem, regnum-que servavi. *Cic. Epist. 20. l. 5. ad Attic.*

(a) Strab. l. 12. p. 535. & 557.

From hence the high-priest was so powerful ; and * in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would ; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him (*a*): for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed thro' Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces (*b*), he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment (*c*) gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them ; but he refused to enter into their al-

* Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens & equitatu & peditatu & pecunia paratus, & toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci ut e regno ille discederet ; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate

aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. *Cic. Epist. 4. lib. 15. ad Famil.*

(*a*) Cæsar de bell. Civ. l. 3. Hist. de bell. Alex.

(*b*) Diod. l. 42. p. 183.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3962. Before Christ 42. Diod. l. 47.

liance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the following book (*a*), and joined the Romans. He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. (*b*) The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Anthony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Anthony expelled him (*c*), and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

ARCHELAUS. (*d*) That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Anthony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that

(*a*) Strab. l. 12. p. 558. Diod. l. 39. p. 116.

(*b*) } An. Mun. 3963. Before
Christ 41. Appian. de bell. Civ. l. 5. p. 675.

(*c*) An. Mun. 3968. Before
Christ 36. Diod. l. 49. p. 411.

(*d*) An. Mun. 3973. Before
Christ 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 914.

conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

He assisted Tiberius (*a*) to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy: (*b*) but his latter years were unfortunatè, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him; * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandisement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business and the hurry of Rome for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear

(*a*) An. Mun. 3934. Before Christ 21. Joseph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 5. Diod. l. 54. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. 8. Diod. l. 57. p. 614. Strab. l. 14. p. 671. & l. 12. p. 556.

(*b*) An. Mun. 3988. Before Christ 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p.

662. Sueton. in Tib. c. 10. V. l. Patern. l. 2. c. 99.

* Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Patern. l. 2. c. 99.

his friends. † During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at * Eleusis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous, at that time. On the contrary (a), when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the east, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius || Atticus, who during the divisions, with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition

† Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare, missoq; ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. *Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 42.*

* *Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes.* Strab. l. 14. p. 651

(a) An. Mun. 4002. Before Christ 12.

|| Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamq; inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulationis, sed obrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atq; Antonium, cum seuterq; principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. *Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. 20.*

in Archelaus (*a*). He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The * king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned two and fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able from his new acquisition to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca (*b*), a city situated upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of † Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which

(*a*) An. Mun. 402c. An. Dom. 17.

* Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusq; immiti a principe, & mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimine, quæ fingeantur, sed angore, si-

mul fessus senio, & quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit. *Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 42.*

(*b*) Strab. l. 12. p. 537, 539.

† This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country ; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their Judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses (*a*), and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of † slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury, (*b*) tho' the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them ; *Lend me your evidence (c), and I'll pay you with mine.*

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great genius's and learned men. It has

(*a*) Boch. Phaleg. l. 3. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

† Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. Horat.

(*b*) Cic. pro Flacc. n. 9, 10.

(*c*) *Da mibi testimonium mutuum.*
produced

produced however some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators ; and it became a proverb, that * a rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

* Θᾶττον ἔστι λευκὸς κοράκας πτηνίστη λευκὸς
Εὐρεῖν, ἢ δίκαιον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκειον.

End of the NINTH VOLUME.

5 AP 65



The Hon.^{ble} John Sherard Esq.^r



H. Gravelot, inv. del. et sculp.

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ASSYRIANS,
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MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
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*By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University
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THE ANCIENT HISTORY

O F

Alexander's Successors.

C O N T A I N I N G

I. Continuation of the history of Sicily, from Hiero II, to the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus. Summary of the history of Syracuse. Reflections upon its government and Archimedes.

II. Continuation of the history of Alexander's successors. War of Mithridates against the Romans under Sylla, Lucullus,

and Pompey. Ptolomæus Auletes. Pompey's death. War of Julius Cæsar in Egypt. First part of Cleopatra's life and reign.

III. History of Antony and Cleopatra. Battle of Actium. Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt reduced into a province of the Roman empire. Conclusion of the whole antient history.

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SECT. I. *Ptolomæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother very young, succeed him,* 163

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SECT. II. *Pothinus and Achilles, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king, having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome,*

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SECT. III. *Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is compleat. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire,*

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BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

CONCLUSION

OF THE

History of SYRACUSE.

THIS twentieth book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson Hieronymus, the troubles of Syracuse consequential of it, and the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is an exact abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. *Hiero the second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punic war.*

(a) **H**IERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse. As his mother was of slavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of

(a) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Justin. l. 23. c. 4.

those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him, as could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all these of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation * he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in command: so that he wanted nothing royal except a throne.

(b) Discord having arose between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of a prudence and maturity, that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of making such an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

(b) A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

* In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regium

desse, præter regnum, videretur.
Justin.

From

From his first measures it was easy to judge, that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose. He had abundance of persons devoted to his interests, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, from their being too well united amongst themselves; that if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the

B z

safety

safety of his country and security of his person, to proceed to a cruel and sad extremity, equally contrary to his character and justice, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the * Mamertines. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans; on the other, those who were not so. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces: after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterward discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their first success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. (c) A great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended, by the consent which the people

(c) A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268.

* They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who after-

wards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword,

and

and the allies afterwards gave to it. But can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that: If his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for, by his wife and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large * elsewhere.

(d) Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprize, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing farther to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the strait without danger.

(e) The Mamertines, between menaces and surprize, having driven the officer out of the citadel, who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was rude. Hiero shewed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Car-

(d) Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4.

(e) Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

* Vol. I. *History of the Carthaginians.*

thaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

(*f*) When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew, that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had antiently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very unsecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between those two republics equal in their forces, and that as long as they should be at blows, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops, who had first passed the strait, had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had

(*f*), A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Polyb. l. 1. p. 15, 16.

taken

taken from them, and pay them an hundred * talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions; himself and his people retained a profound peace.

(g) The Romans perceived on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions at times, when the Roman army, without his aid, had been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punic war, and the commencement of the second, which was about five and twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken off.

(h) Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince conceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it

(g) Polyb. p. 18.
Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

(h) A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war ; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no farther obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils, which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions consequential of them, had occasioned: an employment worthy of a great king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions ; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he shewed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants ; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECT. II. *Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.*

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers ; whose differences, supported on on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero, to keep his subjects employed ; to banish luxury and idleness, the parent of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions ; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country ; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands indeed, besides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a com-

merce renewing every year the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. (i) He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss. But he considered that object of his enquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic, to render the condition of the husbandman, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations, which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed, * that all things should be disposed according to *the*

(i) Polyb. l. 18. c. 3.

* Decimas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut illi fundi esset numeris illius functio, si quis regis, qui Siculis carissimus

fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

laws of Hiero; in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws; and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands, and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince, and good œconomist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country-people, who frequently consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such * just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home upon any pretext what-

* Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subiectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in

asportando frumento, grano uno possit arator, sine maxima poenâ, fraudare decumanum. *Cic. in Ver. de frum. n. 25.*

soever. Cicero says accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journies; it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plow to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits.

(k) *Miserum atque iniquum ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque judicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum persequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise, than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining those victories have cost him! And of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

(l) It was in the second Punic war, that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in

(k) Cic. *ibid.* n. 14.
Liv. l. 21 n. 30, 31.

(l) A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218.

Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him, that advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and cloaths at his own expence. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

(*m*) Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thra-symene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced to the senate, told them: “ That Hiero, their
“ master, had been as sensibly afflicted on their last
“ disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person.
“ That though he well knew, that the grandeur of
“ the Roman people was almost more admirable in
“ times of adversity, than after the most signal suc-
“ cesses; he had sent them all the aid, that could be
“ expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly
“ desired the senate would not refuse to accept it.
“ That they had particularly brought a Victory of
“ gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, which
“ the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as
“ a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which
“ he made for their prosperity. That they had also
“ three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two
“ hundred thousand of barley; and that if the Ro-
“ man people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would

(*m*) Liv. l. 22. n. 37, 38.

“ cause as much as they pleased to be transported to
 “ whatever places they should appoint. That he
 “ knew the Roman people employed none in their
 “ armies but citizens and allies ; but that he had seen
 “ light-armed strangers in their camp. That he had
 “ therefore sent them a thousand archers and slingers,
 “ who might be opposed successfully to the Baleares
 “ and Moors of Hannibal’s army.” They added to this
 aid a very salutary piece of counsel, which was, that
 the prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily,
 might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the
 Carthaginians such employment in their own country,
 as might put it out of their power by that diversion to
 send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king’s ambassadors in very
 obliging and honourable terms : “ That Hiero acted
 “ like a very generous prince, and a most faithful al-
 “ ly : that from the time he had contracted an alliance
 “ with the Romans, his attachment for them had
 “ been constant and unalterable : in fine, that in all
 “ times and places he had powerfully and magnifi-
 “ cently supported them : that the people had a due
 “ sense of such generosity : that some cities of Italy
 “ had already presented the Roman people with gold,
 “ who, after having expressed their gratitude, had not
 “ thought fit to accept it : that the victory was too
 “ favourable an augury not to be received : that they
 “ would place her in the Capitol, that is to say, in
 “ the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order
 “ that she might establish there her fixed and lasting
 “ abode.” All the corn and barley on board the
 ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the
 consuls.

Valerius Maximus * observes here, upon the noble
 and prudent liberality of Hiero ; first in the generous
 design

* Trecenta millia modiorum tri-
 tici, & ducenta millia hordei, au-

rique ducenta & quadraginta pondo
 urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque
 ignarus.

design he forms, of presenting the Romans three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold ; then in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent their refusal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie ; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that ; but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situate as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable, for being rare and almost unparallelled.

I do not know, however, whether even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage ; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it entirely in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians ; who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point, to fly immediately to the aid of

ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quòd nollet accipere, in habitum id victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia

suâ uti cogeret : voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis. *Val. Max.* l. 4. c. 8.

the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the less idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

(n) The sum of an hundred talents (an hundred thousand crowns) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, that laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty, with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the Public Place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

(o) It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war,

(n) Polyb. l. 5. p. 429.
306.

(o) Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to denote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient power with Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, *That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved.* And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration,

monstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprized and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes prepared to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend. He chose one of the galleys in the port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Afterwards placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as upright, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely astonished; and judging from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge, of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince. What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences,

ences, for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they esteem such as distinguish themselves by learning, sometimes converse with them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the admirable machines of war, which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shews how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused
an

an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn ; a commerce, in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. (p) We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, that weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs ; the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were to the number of thirty apartments ; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating ; the last of which, that was at the poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different colours, taken from the Iliad of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery, there was a Gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

(p) Athen. l. 3. p. 206—290.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sundial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's-head was a great reservoir of water, which held an hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these Atlases were at equal distance from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigness; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy, that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men compleatly armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes: it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits, (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings (*Corvi*), which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels

of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men compleatly armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine, made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port Pyræum. The Medimnus, according to father Montfaucon, is a measure, that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king * Ptolemy, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other vessels of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different cloaths, without including the provisions for the ships crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I should have been glad, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which without it must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Hiero's faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. (p) He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would * perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. (q) He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. *Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the Princesses. Hippocrates and Epicydes possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians, as Hieronymus had done.*

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the

(p) Liv. l. 23. n. 30.

(q) A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

* *Movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adsperseret,*

armentem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset.
Liv.

hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young * prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with their whole credit; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank amongst his guardians. † It was not easy for an old man of ninety, to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king, dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation, equal to that of a fa-

* Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè laturum. *Liv.*

† Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, cir-

cum seculo dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privatam curam. *Liv.*

mily who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His * funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the cares and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranodorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranodorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions, made by the wisest princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The † best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornament intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by

* Funus fit regium, magis amore civium & caritate, quam cura suorum celebre. *Liv.*

† Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ cari-

tati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. *Liv.*

four white horses. All the † rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage: a visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliging things, so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of debauch; a cruelty so excessive, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him: This odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranodorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them the prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to himself; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests, rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to

† Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contu-

meliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. *Liv.*

death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companions being tortured, either fled or concealed himself; so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolably.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partisans of Carthage. Hieronymus dispatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general: the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, That after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praises of his flatterers, demanded even some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash, but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ: that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things of it: that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason; and, af-

ter having cautioned rather than desired him, not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those, who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprize, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said, the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end, than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led the wretchedest life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted no body, no body placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended

ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

(*r*) Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily, which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty, with which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places, as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodorus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by shewing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

(*r*) A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. 24. n. 21—35.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither fate, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, “ that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them : But that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves : That he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them till the last extremity : That at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranadorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the Isle, and withdraw his garrisons : That if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced.”

This deputation at first made some impression upon him ; whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens ; or because the best fortified part of the Isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him just apprehensions. But * his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princess, having taking him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, “ *That it was never proper to quit the saddle, (i. e. the tyranny) till pulled off the horse by the heels* : That a great fortune might be renounced in a moment ; but that it would cost abundance of time and pains to attain it : That it

* Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inlata adhuc regis animis ac nautæ scilicet, admonet sepe usur-

patæ Dionysii tyranni vocis : quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

“ was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time ;
 “ and whilst he amused the senate by ambiguous an-
 “ swers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leon-
 “ tium, whom it was easy to bring over to his inte-
 “ rest, by the attraction of the king's treasures in his
 “ possession.”

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give into it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity ; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the Isle, repaired to the quarter Achiadina ; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis ; “ You have done, said he, a me-
 “ morable action. But believe me, your glory is
 “ only begun, and has not yet attained the height of
 “ which it is capable. If you do not take care to
 “ establish peace and union amongst the citizens, the
 “ state is in great danger of expiring, and of being
 “ destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste
 “ the blessings of liberty.” After this discourse, he laid the keys of the Isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged, during the rest of the day, with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the antient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thou-

land men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities, which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him, to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately killed by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They

They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name : That they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him : That impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny : That not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy : That neither favours and honours had been capable to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus ; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty : That as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's, daughter.

At those words the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception. * Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it ; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its passions, enflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself ; as was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed, that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata Hiero's, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus ; who hav-

* Hæc natura multitudinis est ; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur : Libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere mediè, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferre de-

sunt iræm indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & caedes irritant. Liv.

ing been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprized, that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassines arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, “ Not to involve an innocent
“ princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus.
“ She represented to them, that her husband’s banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign :
“ That not having had any share in the fortunes and
“ designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have
“ none in her punishment. Besides, what was there
“ to fear either from her, in the forlorn condition and
“ almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or
“ from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support ? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear
“ the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to
“ their father.” When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious of enemies with compassion : but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained, and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their deaths, an order of the people’s came for sparing their lives.

From

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those, who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranodorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardor by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of re-inflating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures, which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance, broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the
princi-

principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. “ He intimated, that never city
“ was nearer its destruction or preservation than Sy-
“ racuse actually was at that time: That if they
“ all with unanimous consent should join either the
“ Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would
“ be happy: That if they were divided, the war
“ would neither be more warm nor more dangerous be-
“ tween the Romans and Carthaginians, than be-
“ tween the Syracusans themselves against each other,
“ as both parties must necessarily have within the
“ circumference of their own walls, their own troops,
“ armies, and generals: That it was therefore abso-
“ lutely requisite to make their agreement and union
“ amongst themselves their sole care and application;
“ and that to know which of the two alliances was
“ to be preferred, was not now the most important
“ question: That for the rest, the authority of Hie-
“ ro, in his opinion, ought to carry it against that of
“ Hieronymus; and that the amity of the Romans,
“ happily experienced for fifty years together, seemed
“ preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which
“ they could not much rely for the present, and with
“ which they had as little reason to be satisfied with
“ regard to the past. He added a last motive of no
“ mean force, which was, that in declaring against
“ the Romans, they would have the war immediate-
“ ly upon their hands; whereas, on the side of Car-
“ thage, the danger was more remote.”

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for discharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded, that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicydes; who having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependant on Syracuse; but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored,

restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium ; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces ; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army however continued its march towards Mægara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes ; not
from

from the motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformably to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECT. II. *The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him.*

(s) **A**FFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse

(s) A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. 24. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 307. Polyb. l. 8. p. 515—518.

and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land * : by land, on the side of Hexapyla ; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines, used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans : this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance: which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with immense weight at the end of them upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain ; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time ; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Galleys, frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *Sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks ; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pulleys ; others at the head assisted in raising it with leavers. The galleys afterwards being thrust forward
to

to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *Sambuca* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner of a drawbridge) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten * quintals, then a second, and immediately after a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed * scorpions, which not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves

* The Quintal which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed an hundred and twenty-five pounds: the largest more than twelve hundred,

† The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls: and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries upon them: “ Shall we persist, said he to his workmen and engineers, in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucas so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us.” Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, they had

had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge: I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it useful; and did not stay, till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so: which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very * arms of peace he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptavit idonea bello.

Hierat.

And wise in peace prepared the arms of war.

in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost cotemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances, of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shews how high the antients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention ; but as no antient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

(*t*) After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the

(*t*) A. M. 3791, Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. l. 24. n. 35, 36.

war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily ; but that of the Carthaginians seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has lately published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, with which I am convinced the public will be well pleased. The first volume of this work appeared some months ago, in the front of which there is a long preface well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

(u) In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take

(u) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. 25. n. 23, 31. Plut. in Marcel. p. 308, 309.

Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprize having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a

moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army: a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify, the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the Isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus: but finding him stronger and bet-

* The new city, or Neapolis, latter times had been taken into
was called Epipolis, and in the the city and surrounded with walls.

ter attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them : the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians : the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryalus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land-side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded : Epicydes at the same time made a salley upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprizes was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season. But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and laments. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them; he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians encrease every day, and that if he stayed,
and

and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape. But when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the disposition of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and given them assurances, that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, “ That for whatever miseries they had
 “ suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth,
 “ they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended up-
 “ on themselves alone to put an end to them : That
 “ if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse,
 “ it was out of affection not enmity to the Syracu-
 “ fans : That it was not till after they had been ap-
 “ prized of the oppressions they suffered from Hip-
 “ pocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of
 “ Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that
 “ they had taken arms and began the siege of the
 “ city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants :
 “ That as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer
 “ in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Cartha-
 “ ginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land,
 “ what reason could the Romans now have for not
 “ inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero,
 “ the sole example of faith to them, were still alive ?
 “ That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any
 “ thing to fear but from themselves, if they let slip
 “ the occasion of renewing their amity with the Ro-
 “ mans : That they never had so favourable an op-
 “ portunity as the present, when they were just deli-
 “ vered from the violent government of their tyrants ;
 “ and that the first use they ought to make of their li-
 “ berty, was to return to their duty.”

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : “ It was not the people of
 “ Syracuse, who first broke the alliance, and declared
 “ war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal
 “ still to Rome than to his country : and afterwards,
 “ when the peace was restored by his death, it was
 “ not

“ not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the ty-
 “ rant’s instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. They
 “ were the enemies who have made war against you,
 “ after having made us slaves, either by violence, or
 “ fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said that we
 “ have had any times of liberty that have not also
 “ been times of peace with you. At present, as soon
 “ as we are become masters of our selves by the death
 “ of those, who held Sicily in subjection, we come
 “ the very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our
 “ persons, our walls, and our city, determined not
 “ to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to im-
 “ pose.” For the rest, continued he, addressing
 himself always to Marcellus, “ your interest is as
 “ much concerned as ours. The gods have granted
 “ you the glory of having taken the finest and most
 “ illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we
 “ have ever atchieved of memorable either by sea or
 “ land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame
 “ is not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make
 “ known the greatness and strength of the city you
 “ have taken; posterity can only judge of them by
 “ its own eyes. It is necessary that we should shew to
 “ all travellers, from whatever part of the universe
 “ they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtain-
 “ ed from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and
 “ sometimes those you have acquired from us; and
 “ that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the pro-
 “ tection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal
 “ monument of the valour and clemency of him,
 “ who took and preserved it. It is unjust that the
 “ remembrance of Hieronymus should have more
 “ weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter
 “ was much longer your friend than the former your
 “ enemy. Permit me to say, you have experienced
 “ the amity of Hiero: but the senseless enterprizes
 “ of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own
 “ head.”

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers, sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break, the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might
not

not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: "That
 " Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman
 " people more good, than those who had been masters
 " of Syracuse some years past, had intended to do
 " them harm; but that their ill-will had fallen upon
 " their own heads, and they had punished themselves
 " for their violation of treaties in a more severe manner, than the Romans could have desired:
 " That he had besieged Syracuse during three
 " years, not that the Roman people might reduce it
 " into slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolt-
 " ers from continuing it under oppression: That he
 " had undergone many fatigues and dangers in so long
 " a siege; but that he thought he had made himself
 " ample amends by the glory of having taken that
 " city, and the satisfaction of having saved it from the
 " entire ruin it seemed to deserve." After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safe-guards in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches, which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at the time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes but the whole faculties

of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted, when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

A R T I C L E III.

SECT. I. *Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere ; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure ; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines of his invention. Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had
made

made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height ; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

(a) At the time he was questor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes ; a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him, that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, * *that he found what he had looked for.* The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. † So that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost

(a) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 64, 66.

* *Εὐρηκα* in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissi-

ma, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizens, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says *: “ I will not
 “ compare the lives of a Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with
 “ that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own
 “ city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, who lived
 “ many years after him. I shall produce him from
 “ his † dust, and bring him upon the stage with his
 “ rule and compasses in his hand.” Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the Learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure as a common artificer, employed in making machines; unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus

Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent :

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

VIRGIL. *Æn.* 6.

* Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe HUMILI-

LEM HOMUNCIONEM à pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedem.

† He means the dust used by geometricians.

Let

*Let others better mold the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face ;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend and when they rise ;
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;
Disposing peace and war, thy own majestick way.*

DRYDEN.

(b) This is the Abbe Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECT. II. *Summary of the history of Syracuse.*

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called Græcia major, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. (c) It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the xviith Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. (d) It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government ; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought

(b) *Memoirs of the academy of inscriptions, Vol. II.*

(c) A. M. 3295.

(d) A. M. 3520.

proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

(e) GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.

(f) Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. p. 154, &c. Vol. III. p. 292, &c.

(g) HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III. p. 299, &c.

(h) THRASIBULUS. Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him

(e) A. M. 3520.

(f) A. M. 3525.

(g) A. M. 3532.

(h) A. M. 3543.

* *In the history of the Carthaginians.*

the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III. p. 305.

Times of liberty.

(i) After his expulsion. Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

(k) During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse ; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, Vol. III. p. 433, &c.

(l) DIONYSIUS *the elder*. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years ; and still more, for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. p. 158, &c. Vol. V. p. 108, &c.

(m) Dionysius *the younger*. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him ; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

(n) Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

(o) Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

(p) Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Cal-

(i) A. M. 3544.

(m) A. M. 3632.

(p) A. M. 3647.

(k) A. M. 3588.

(n) A. M. 3644.

(l) A. M. 3598.

(o) A. M. 3646.

lippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

(*q*) Dionysius the younger taking advantage of those troubles, reascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

(*r*) At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Vol. I. p. 166, &c. Vol. V. p. 155.

Times of Liberty.

(*s*) Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. Vol. V. p. 206, &c.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

(*t*) AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. Vol. I. p. 172, &c.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history ; carries the war into Africa ; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times of Liberty.

(*u*) Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. Vol. I. p. 182, &c. Vol. VII. p. 255, &c.

(*q*) A. M. 3654.
(*r*) A. M. 3685.

(*s*) A. M. 3657.
(*t*) A. M. 3713.

(*u*) A. M. 3658.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II, which was very long, and almost always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them: but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.*

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished: *quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pœna belli*. Sicily, in submitting to the * Roman people, retained all her antient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first of all the foreign nations that

* Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruissent. *Cic. ibid.*

† Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amici-

tiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata: prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare.—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia

that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, knowing like him in the obligations of his functions, and like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says: “In
“ all * the employments with which the Roman people
“ ple

provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, & rei frumentariæ subsidium, & receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quæ victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plu-

rima collocaret. *Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.*

* Odii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestrae populi R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus. R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non

“ ple have honoured me to this day, I have ever
 “ thought myself obliged by the most sacred ties of
 “ religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them.
 “ When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dig-
 “ nity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my par-
 “ ticular use, but as a depofite confided to my vigi-
 “ lance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to
 “ act in that office, I thought all eyes were turned
 “ upon me, and that my person and adminiftration
 “ were in a manner exhibited as a fpectacle to the
 “ view of all the world ; and in this thought I not
 “ only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary
 “ kind, but even thofe which are authorized by na-
 “ ture and neceffity. I am now intended for Ædile.
 “ I call the gods to witnefs, that how honourable foe-
 “ ver this dignity feems to me, I have too juft a fenfe
 “ of its weight, not to have more follicitude and dif-
 “ quiet, than joy and pleasure from it ; fo much I de-
 “ fire to make it appear, that it was not beftowed up-
 “ on me by chance, or the neceffity of being filled
 “ up ; but confided defervedly by the choice and dif-
 “ cernment of my country.”

All the Roman governors were far from being of
 this character ; and Sicily, above all other provinces,
 experienced, as * Cicero fome lines after reproaches
 Verres,

non tam datum quam creditum
 ac commiffum putarem. Sic ob-
 tinui quæfturam in provincia, ut
 omnium oculos in me unum
 conjeftos arbitrarer : ut me quæ-
 fturamque meam quafi in aliquo
 orbis terræ theatro verfari existi-
 marem ; ut omnia femper, quæ
 jucunda videntur efle, non modo
 his extraordinariis cupiditatibus,
 fed etiam ipfi naturæ ac neces-
 fitati denegarem. Nunc fum de-
 fignatus ædilis ——— Ita mihi
 deos omnes propitios efle velim,
 ut, tametsi mihi jucundiffimus eft

honos populi, tamen nequaquam
 tantum capio voluptatis, quantum
 follicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc
 ipfa ædilitas, non quia necesse fu-
 it alicui candidato data, fed quia
 fic oportuerit rectè collocata, &
 judicio populi digno in loco pofita
 efle videatur. *Cic. Verr. 7. n.*
 35—37.

* Nunquam tibi venit in men-
 tem, non tibi idcirco fafcès & secu-
 res, & tantam imperii vim, tan-
 tamque ornamentorum omnium
 dignitatem datam ; ut earum rerum
 vi & auctoritate omnia repagula
 juris,

Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprizing scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftner violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen, in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: Sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles, and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, antient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the

juris, pudoris, & officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullus domus clausa, nullius vita

septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam posset esse. Ibid. n. 39.

levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what I am convinced conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: To attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons, that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and

and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature ; and yet when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep ; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care

* Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hist.* l. 1. c. 16.

of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans alway enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

BOOK THE TWENTY-
FIRST.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

History of the S U C C E S S O R S

O F

A L E X A N D E R the Great.

THIS book contains two articles, of which the first includes the history of Mithridates king of Pontus, and the second the reigns of Ptolemy Auletes, and the famous Cleopatra, with which ends the history of the Greeks.

A R T I C L E I.

THIS article includes the space of sixty years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates ; from the year of the world 3880, to the year 3943.

S E C T.

SECT. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.*

Mithridates, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house, which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabafus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But besides that we do not find the name of Artabafus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak, was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

He

(x) He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. (y) He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it. (z) Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

(a) Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to chuse whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor,

(x) A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. (y) Memnon in Excerpti Photii, c. 32. (z) Appian, in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. (a) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition ; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprizes of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting gave umbrage to the Romans. (b) Sylla executed his commission the following year ; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces *, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, receiving him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes ; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. (c) Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians ; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is

(b) A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.
P. 531, 532.

(c) Strab. l. 11.

* This was Mithridates II.

probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts, Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed, Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

(d) Their first enterprize and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time : his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support ; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects could no longer resist their solicitations. He made in-

(d) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

ursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot: but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war, that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty

a declaration, made answer ; that Mithridates had immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived ; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned amongst his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

(e) Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a * long discourse to animate them against the Romans. “ He represented to them, that there was no
 “ room for examining whether war or peace were to
 “ be preferred ; that the Romans, by attacking them
 “ first, had spared them that enquiry : That their
 “ business was to fight and conquer : That he assured
 “ himself of success, if the troops persisted to act
 “ with the same valour they had already shewn upon
 “ so many occasions, and lately against the same ene-
 “ mies, whom they had put to flight, and cut to pie-
 “ ces in Bithynia and Cappadocia : That there could

(e) Justin. l. 38. c. 3—7.

* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a spe-

cimen of that excellent Eusebion's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

“ not

“ not be a more favourable opportunity than the pre-
 “ sent, when the Marfi infested and ravaged the
 “ heart itself of Italy ; when Rome was torn in pie-
 “ ces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the
 “ Cimbri from Germany over-ran all Italy : That
 “ the time was come for humbling those proud Re-
 “ publicans, who had the same view with regard to
 “ the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all
 “ the thrones of the universe : That for the rest *,
 “ the war his soldiers were now entering upon, was
 “ highly different from that they had sustained with
 “ so much valour in the horrid deserts, and frozen
 “ regions of Scythia : That he should lead them into
 “ the most fruitful and temperate country of the world,
 “ abounding with rich and opulent cities, which
 “ seemed to offer themselves an easy prey : That Asia,
 “ abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice
 “ of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-
 “ farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges,
 “ had the name of Roman in horror, and impatiently
 “ expected them as her deliverers : That they fol-
 “ lowed him not so much to a war, as to assured
 “ victory and certain spoils.” The army answered
 this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and re-
 iterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus ; the second by Manius

* Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cœlo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius ; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi — tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet : adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium. *Justin.*

———— Sectio publicanorum in this passage properly signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those, who for default of payment of taxes and imposts, had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans. Calumniæ litium are the unjust quirks and chicanery, which served as pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour.

Aquilius ; the third by Q. Oppius proconsul, in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kind of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a fight to the people mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

(f) Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times, (g) who could drink most without being disordered ;

(f) Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. 5. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60.

(g) Plut. Sympos. l. 1. p. 624.

a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

(*b*) Mithridates considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed *. The women, children, and domestics were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition, to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king, and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves, who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order, is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution! Fourscore thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

(*b*) A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

* Is uno die, tota Asia, tot Romanos necandos trucidandosque in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque denotavit. Cic.
una literarum significatione, cives

(i) Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns) which the Jews in Asia minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

(k) All those, who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

(l) When he had made himself master of Asia minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

(m) Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was

(i) Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.
p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.
p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.
3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

(k) Appian.
(l) Plut. in Sylla,
(m) A. M.

charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the

port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphos, “ That they would act wisely in sending him the
“ treasures of the god, because they would be more
“ secure in his hands ; and that if he should be ob-
“ liged to make use of them, he would return the
“ value after the war.” At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo’s lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, “ That
“ he was surprized he should not comprehend, that
“ singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of
“ anger and resentment ; and therefore he had no-
“ thing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be
“ assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure,
“ and gave them to him himself.”

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the antient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without de-
scending

scending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops, that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices, than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege he had engaged in, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour ; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would

* 'Αυτοί τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοὶ καὶ ταῖς ἀσπαράγαις ἐντελεῖς, ὅντινες.

not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans. So that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general salley ; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: *To-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp.* Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardor on both sides, but the Romans at length were obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the
form

form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen ; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds sterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla : he dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, “ Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, “ and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. “ For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your antient prowess, but to chastise “ your modern revolt.”

During this audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in

* *The public place at Athens.*

person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus one of his generals arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their
camp,

camp, the enemies could discover at a view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Arche-laüs's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops. For when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their entrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments: the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosse's, under pretence of their
better

better security, but in effect, that when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for some time : but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves with a great body of troops of a very advantageous post, called Thurium : it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops ; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena, whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend their horse, and light armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprized and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs ; so that about three thousand
men

men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted, and made a great slaughter of them : the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion ; instead of which, a short space that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broke ; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand, removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted amongst them the heavy armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the
second

second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against * Murena; whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much

* *Caspides*.

greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

(*n*) To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the Musick games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods, should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest) had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived * at the city of Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Boeotia, and possessed himself of the whole country in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew,

(*n*) A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85.

* *In Thessaly.*

that the advice he had given him, was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosse's to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country,^r and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus.* They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops, who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pel-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the like filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But from the fear, that his ill success
might

might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precautions of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

(o) He was not more successful in Asia himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruized in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory, by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states, where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the publick good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprizing, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his, did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years.

(o) Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journies by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a compleat general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war *. Let young warriors consider this with due attention ; and observe in what manner the Great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chose to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety ; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those, who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition, to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief ; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma,

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura djuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace

consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usûs disciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis ; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. *Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 2.*

a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced, when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery, in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him : “ If being only a slave, and at
“ best but an officer of a Barbarian king, you look
“ upon it as a baseness to quit the service of your
“ master, how dared you propose the abandoning the
“ interests of the republic to such a Roman as me ?
“ Do you imagine our condition and affairs to be
“ equal ? Have you forgot my victories ? Do you not
“ remember, that you are the same Archelaus I have
“ defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide
“ himself in the marshes of Orchomenus ? ”

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation.

tiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dicta-
 ting the law as victor, proposed the following condi-
 tions: " That Mithridates should renounce Asia and
 " Paphlagonia: That he should restore Bithynia to
 " Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes:
 " That he should pay the Romans two thousand ta-
 " lents (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling)
 " for the expences of the war, and seventy armed
 " galleys, with their whole equipage; and that Syl-
 " la, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest
 " of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the
 " friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus
 seemed to approve those conditions; and dispatched a
 courier immediately to communicate them to Mithri-
 dates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Ar-
 chelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa,
 who came to declare to him, that their master accepted
 and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired
 he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that
 as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means com-
 ply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal,
 answered them in an angry tone: " What say you?
 " Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia,
 " and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I
 " expected to have seen him return me thanks upon
 " his knees, for having only left him the hand with
 " which he butchered an hundred thousand Romans.
 " He will change his note, when I go over to Asia;
 " though at present, in the midst of his court at Per-
 " gamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw."
 Such was the lofty stile of Sylla, who gave Mithri-
 dates to understand at the same time, that he would
 not talk such language, had he been present in the
 past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made
 no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and
 promised him, that Mithridates should consent to all
 the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla,
 after

after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

(p) Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of Phillippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions ; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates ; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes : and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions ? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, “ Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is “ for suplicants to speak, and for the victorious to hear “ and be silent ? ” Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprized at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces ; and afterwards presenting the kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

(p) A. M. 3920.

VOL. X.

F

Sylla

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy of Rome, and who in one day had caused an hundred thousand Roman citizens dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops, superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. * But what is most to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy in not hearkening

* Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Mariianæ partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus

omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. *Vell Patere*, l. 2. c. 2.

to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand * talents, and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four † drachmas a day, and entertain a table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty ‖ drachmas, and besides that a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

(q) After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The lat-

(q) Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. 13. p. 609. Athen. l. 3. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

* *About three millions sterling.*

‖ *About five and twenty shillings.*

† *About two shillings.*

ter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependance, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, they thought proper to hide them in a vault underground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten, and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public: the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECT. II. *Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three year's duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.*

(r) SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him, for whom Cicero made the fine oration, which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. The first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy, which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a

(r) A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian, p. 213—216.

great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe, his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands, and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

(s) There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as mere collusion. And indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

(t) Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in

(s) A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.
Ant. J. C. 81.

(t) A. M. 3923.

earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes: he obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and raillyng: fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

(u) Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

(x) The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose

(u) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. (x) A. M. 3928.
Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580,
581.

two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprize, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend no just right to dispose; but that he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, “What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?” A
treaty

treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect: That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius * three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic, obscured the splendor and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

(y) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that as-

(y) A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

* *About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds,*

ter the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

(2) Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurements of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers: he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned; assembled an hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides an hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

(a) The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia and Cappadocia for his province; the other Bithynia and the Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived,

(2) *Plut. in Lucul.* p. 463.

(a) *A. M.* 3930. *Ant. J. C.* 74.

thought

thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told, that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships with their whole compliments; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to a revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

(7) Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three

(b) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—498. Appian. p. 219—222.

hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began, by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory, that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means, that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some
went

went so far, as to support themselves upon human flesh. (c) Mithridates *, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not have had much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches, and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them, and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet †, beat them twice; the first time at

(c) A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 72.

* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta & revulsa, tota pateret provincia: perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiae regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur.* n. 33.

† Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam & ornatam, quæ

ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. *Cic. pro lege Manil.* n. 21.

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? *Id. pro Muræna.* n. 33.

Tenedos,

Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming, and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements ; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself ; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent : reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia ; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for * only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his antient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to

* *Ten-pence.*

Mithridates ; this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermoodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification : “ That is directly what
 “ I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose,
 “ in order that our enemy may take new courage,
 “ and assemble so numerous an army, as may em-
 “ bolden him to expect us in the field, and fly no
 “ longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has
 “ behind him immense solitudes and infinite deserts,
 “ in which it will be impossible for us either to come
 “ up with or pursue him ? Armenia is but a few days
 “ march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps
 “ his court, that king of kings, whose power is so
 “ great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports
 “ whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has
 “ made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exter-
 “ minated the kings descended from Seleucus, and car-
 “ ried their wives and daughters into captivity. This
 “ powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mi-
 “ thridates. Do you think, when he has him in his
 “ palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and
 “ not make war against us ? Hence in hastening to
 “ drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger
 “ of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long
 “ sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who
 “ can never find one more specious, legitimate, and
 “ honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law,
 “ and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why
 “ therefore should we serve Mithridates against our-
 “ selves, or shew him to whom he should have recourse
 “ for

“ for the means of supporting the war with us, by
 “ pushing him, against his will, and at a time per-
 “ haps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy
 “ his valour and greatness, into the arms and protec-
 “ tion of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by
 “ giving him time to take courage, and strengthen
 “ himself with his own forces, to have only upon
 “ our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians
 “ and Cappadocians, whom we have so often de-
 “ feated, than to expose ourselves to having the addi-
 “ tional force of the Armenians and Medes to con-
 “ tend with ?”

Whilst the Romans attached the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. * “ He went into Asia, a pro-
 “ vince abounding with riches and pleasures, where
 “ he left behind him no traces either of avarice or
 “ luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this
 “ important war, that he did many great actions
 “ without the general, the general none without
 “ him.” Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cahiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only

* *Asiam istam refertam & eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in*

bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res & magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator. Cic. pro Muræna, n. 20.

of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says * Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus her brother in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her ; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars: and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of these castles a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good for-

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum

omnium, quas & à majoribus acceperat, & ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congefferat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse è manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. *Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.*

tune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Amongst the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: he sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the splendor of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of an husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further, than to leave them at liberty to chuse the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it.

it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out: *Ah fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!* Then throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice she took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities, their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates: but having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly, and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. (d) Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no

(d) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and to encrease his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an atient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers, held under the most dreadful oppression; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand * talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had ran it up to an hundred and twenty thousand † talents; so that they still owed tripple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus || has reason to say, that usury was one of

* *About three millions sterling.*

† *About eighteen millions sterling.*

|| *Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre ma-*

lum, & seditionum discordiarum-que creberrima causa, Tacit. Annal. l. 6. c. 16.

the most antient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition ; but at the time we now speak of it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent* : hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnis* ; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent*. was paid : *uncia* is the twelfth part of an whole.

(e) The * law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve *per cent*. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

(f) Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome ; *semunciarum fœnus*.

(g) At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree : *ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. † Avarice was always too strong for the laws : and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because, God having forbade any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder, which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

(e) Tacit. Annal. l. 6. c. 16. Liv. l. 7. n. 16.
n. 27.

(g) Ibid. n. 42.

(f) Ibid.

* Nequis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.

fraudibus : quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur.

† Multis plebiscitis obviam itam

Tacit. ibid.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect, by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him ; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive, and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint-forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.*

(b) **T**igranes, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great ; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites ; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive

(b) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. 48—57. Appian, in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity, that had never known any irruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendor he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity ; who on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterised his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaints, which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it ; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph ; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates, and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in publick without having four kings attending him ; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad : at table, in his chamber, in short, every where he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him ; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity
offends

offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprizing, that a prince of this character, should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It is the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five and twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife ; that the union between them was of too strict a nature, to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus ; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprize seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independant cities. (i) Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cru-

(i) Memn. c. 51—61.

elty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *Latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of the winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. No body dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands, of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. (k) But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

(k) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him ; *And for you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, in regard to your master's demands ?* Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity : *As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you ; but as your counsel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner ; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches ; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king : For this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour ; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry, in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and Barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle ; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about

twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army, was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them ; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils ; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable and a fine raillier, used an expression, which has been much admired ; *If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many ; but if as enemies, very few.* Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that

that a little below it turned off to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh: *Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away.* Taxilus replied, *I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away.*

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legions move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, *How! Are those people coming to us!* They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of * Cæpio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: *And for me, I'll make this an happy day for the Romans.* It was the sixth of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and march-

* The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cæpio.

ed foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass made in the form of scales, which glittered surprizingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, *The victory is ours, fellow soldiers, the victory is ours.* At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers

diers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unweildy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin till they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: on the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small days journies to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened ; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes : So that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta ; the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers ; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.) Besides this plunder, he gave each foldier eight hundred * drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

(1) As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia,

(1) Strab. l. 11. p. 532. & l. 12. p. 539.

* About twenty pounds.

Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

(*m*) If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so, was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered, that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

(*m*) Dion. Cas. l. 35. p. 1.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to * Arsaces king of the Parthians.*

“ **A** L L those †, who in a state of prosperity, are
 “ invited to enter as confederates into a war,
 “ ought first to consider, whether peace be at their
 “ own option ; and next, whether what is demanded
 “ of them, is consistent with justice, their interest,
 “ safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual
 “ peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always
 “ intent upon seizing occasions of war, and entirely
 “ void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you can-
 “ not but acquire exalted glory. It may seem incon-
 “ sistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance
 “ with Tigranes, or powerful as you are, that you
 “ should join a prince in my unfortunate condition.
 “ But I dare advance, that those two motives, your
 “ resentment against Tigranes upon account of his

* *Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.*

† Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod quaeritur, satine pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetuam pacem siui liceret, nisi hostes opportuni & felicitissimi. Egregia fama si Romanos oppresseris, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, & frustra mala mea cum tuis loris misceri sperem. Atque ea, quae te meruisse viden-

tur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, & meae res parum prosperae, si vera aestimare voles, maxime hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus creptis, usum dedit bene suadendi, & quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus praebeo exemplum, quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea verus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii & divitiarum.—

“ late war with you, and the no advantageous situ-
 “ ation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far
 “ from opposing my demand, ought to support it.
 “ For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given
 “ you just cause of complaint, he will accept,
 “ without difficulty, whatever conditions you shall
 “ think fit to impose upon him ; and for me,
 “ I can say, that fortune, by having deprived
 “ me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to
 “ give others good counsels, and, which is much
 “ to be desired in persons of prosperity, I can, even
 “ from my own misfortunes, supply you with exam-
 “ ples, and induce you to take better measures than
 “ I have done. For do not deceive yourself, it is
 “ with all the nations, states, and kings of the earth,
 “ the Romans are at war ; and two motives, as an-
 “ tient as powerful, put their arms into their hands ;
 “ the unbounded ambition of extending their con-
 “ quests, and the insatiable thirst of riches.” Mith-
 ridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and
 kings they had reduced one after another, and often
 by one another. He repeats also his first successes a-
 gainst the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes
 on to this effect : “ Examine * now, I beg you, when
 “ we

* Nunc quæso, considera, no-
 bis oppressis, utrum firmiorem
 te ad resistendum, an finem belli
 futurum putes ? Scio equidem tibi
 magnas opes virorum, armorum,
 & auri esse : & ea re nobis ad so-
 cietatem, ab illis ad prædam pe-
 teris. Cæterum consilium est
 Tigranis, regno integro, meis mi-
 litibus belli prudentibus, procul ab
 domo, parvo labore, per nostra
 corpora bellum conficere : quando
 neque vincere neque vinci sine pe-
 riculo tuo possumus. An ignoras
 Romanos, postquam ad occiden-
 tem pergentibus finem cœcis fe-
 cit, arma huc convertisse ? Neque
 quicquam à principio nisi captum

habere ; domum, conjuges, agros,
 imperium ? Convenas, olim sine
 patriâ, sine parentibus, peste con-
 ditos orbis terrarum : quibus non
 humana ulla neque divina obstant,
 quin socios, amicos, procul, jux-
 taque sitos, inopes, potentesque
 trahant, excidantque ; omniaque
 non serva, & maxime regna, hos-
 tilia ducant. Namque pauci liber-
 tatem pars magna iustos dominos
 volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmu-
 li, & in tempore vindices affaturi.
 Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima ur-
 bium, regnum de Persidis inclis-
 davis est, quid ab illis, nisi delum
 in præterit, & postea bellum ex-
 pectas ? Romanis in omnes arma
 habent.

“ we are finally ruined, whether you will be in a
 “ condition to resist the Romans, or can believe, that
 “ they will confine their conquests to my country? I
 “ know you are powerful in men, in arms, and trea-
 “ sure; it is therefore We desire to strengthen our-
 “ selves by your alliance; They, to grow rich by
 “ your spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Ti-
 “ granes to avoid drawing the war into his own coun-
 “ try, that we shall go with all my troops, which
 “ are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far
 “ from home, and attack the enemy in person in their
 “ own country. We cannot therefore either con-
 “ quer or be conquered, without your being in danger.
 “ Do you not know, that the Romans, when they
 “ found themselves stopped by the ocean on the west,
 “ turned their arms this way? That to look back to
 “ their foundation and origin, whatever they have,
 “ they have from violence, home, wives, lands, and
 “ dominions. A vile herd of every kind of vaga-
 “ bonds, without country, without forefathers, they
 “ established themselves for the misfortune of human
 “ race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them
 “ from betraying and destroying their allies and
 “ friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak
 “ or the powerful. They reckon all enemies, that
 “ are not their slaves; and especially, whatever bears
 “ the name of king. For few nations affect a free
 “ and independant government; the generality pre-
 “ fer just and equitable masters. They suspect us,
 “ because we are said to emulate their power, and
 “ may in time avenge their oppressions. But for you,
 “ who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Per-

habent, accerrima in eos quibus
 spolia maxuma sunt. Audendo
 & fallendo, & bella ex bellis se-
 rendo, magni facti. Per hunc
 morem extinguunt omnia aut oc-
 cident: quod difficile non est, si
 tu Mesopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ
 circumgredimur exercitum sine fru-
 mento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna au-

tem nostris vitis adhuc incolumis.
 Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio
 profectum magnis regibus latrones
 gentium oppressisse. Qued uti
 facias moneo hortorque, neu malis
 pernicië nostra unum imperium
 probare, quam scicistate victor
 fieri.

“ sia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms,
 “ what can you expect from them, but deceit at pre-
 “ sent, and war hereafter? The Romans are at war
 “ with all nations; but especially with those, from
 “ whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They
 “ are become great by enterprizing, betraying, and
 “ by making one war bring forth another. By this
 “ means they will either destroy all others, or be de-
 “ stroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin
 “ them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and we,
 “ on that of Armenia, surround their army, without
 “ provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their
 “ arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who
 “ have not been so prudent to understand this com-
 “ mon enemy, and to ally ourselves against him.
 “ It will be for your immortal glory to have supported
 “ two great kings, and to have conquered and de-
 “ stroyed these robbers of the world. This is what
 “ I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; that you
 “ may chuse rather to share with us by a salutary al-
 “ liance, in conquering the common enemy, than to
 “ suffer the Roman empire to extend itself universally
 “ by our ruin.”

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

(*l*) One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recal Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. (*m*) Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

(*l*) Appian. in Syr. p. 218, 219.

(*m*) Justin. l. 40. c. 2.

(*n*) The

(n) The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to chuse an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a compleat victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

(n) A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 63. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

* Or. *Arsania*.

(o) Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached its train of snows and storms, the * soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to shew itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate,

(o) Dion. Caf. l. 37. p. 3—7.

* Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, & præliis usus erat secundis, tamen ni-

miâ longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum, commovebatur. Cic. pro lege Mar. n. 23.

in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaritious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people, for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. † So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the

* Mithridates & suam manum jam confirmârat, & eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, & magnis adventitiis multorum regum & nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur.

Cic. pro Leg. Manil. n. 24.

† Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.—*Cic. pro Leg. Man. n. 25.*

Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

(p) Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him seven thousand men ; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes *, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment : which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt ; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them, if he thought fit.

(p) A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

* Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.

SECT. IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

M Anius Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

(*q*) It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age ; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a compleat general. But the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest: I mean, address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access ; rough in commanding ; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious, was inexorable in punishing offences, and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and re-

wards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves, that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprized to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbid them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. (r) Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the Pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: “ That Pompey, taking upon

(r) A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. 36. p. 70.

* In ipso illo malo gravissima-
que belli offensione, L. Lucullus,
qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incom-
modis mederi fortasse potuisset,
vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii

diuturnitati modum statuendum,
veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem
militum, qui jam stipendiis confec-
tis erant, dimisit, partem Glabri-
oni tradidit. *Ibid.* n. 26.

“ him the command of all the troops and provinces
“ which were under Lucullus, and adding to them
“ Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be
“ charged with making war upon the kings Mithrida-
“ tes and Tigranes, retaining under him all the na-
“ val forces, and continuing to command at sea with
“ the same conditions and prerogatives, as had been
“ granted him in the war against the Pirates: that is
“ to say, that he should have absolute power on
“ all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues
“ distance from the sea.” This was, in effect, sub-
jecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For
all the provinces which had not been granted him by
the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappa-
docia, Cilicia the higher, Colchis, and Armenia,
were conferred upon him by this second, that included
also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had
defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of
the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of
whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the
honours of his triumph, than the command of his
armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility
and senate most concern. They were well convinced
that great wrong was done him, and that his services
were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But
what gave them most pain, and they could not sup-
port, was that high degree of power to which Pom-
pey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny al-
ready formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each
other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and
not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at
Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with
all their credit. It was upon this occasion, the latter
pronounced that fine oration before the people, intitled,
For the law of Manilius. After having demonstrated
in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and
importance of the war in question, he proves in the
third,

third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: “ Virtues, by
 “ so much the more necessary, says he, as the * Ro-
 “ man name is become infamous and hateful amongst
 “ foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the de-
 “ bauches, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the
 “ generals and magistrates we send amongst them.
 “ † Instead of which, the wise, moderate, and irre-
 “ proachable conduct of Pompey, will make him be
 “ regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended
 “ from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We
 “ begin to believe, that all which is related of the
 “ noble disinterest of those antient Romans is real and
 “ true; and that it was not without reason, under
 “ such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey
 “ the Roman people, than to command others.”

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

* Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. *Num.* 61.

† Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere

fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus ceteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. *Ibid.* n. 41.

(s) We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself, that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

(t) Pompey, who had lately terminated the war with the Pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out as if oppressed by and sorry for that new command; *Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes*

(s) Dio Cass. l. 36. p. 20, 21.

Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634—636. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 22—25. Appian. p. 238.

(t) A. M. 3938.

me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others, and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him. And his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing, was to let the partisans of Lucullus see, that they adhered to a man, who had neither authority nor power. (u) Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates, for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessors had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies, who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

(u) Strab. l. 12. p. 557, 558.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess, as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to fully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the Great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus; but not without being long contested.

(u) It was he that first brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Cerasus, from a city of that name in Capadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same, who was surnamed *the God*. He concluded an offensive and defensive al-

(u) Plin. l. 15. c. 25.

liance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed, that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters: those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army; and to swear, that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing from the nature of the plants, and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight * leagues in circumference, and were fortified with

* 150 Stadia.

good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such intreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed them above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsiceratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicerates (x), by changing the termination of her name from the femi-

(x) *Ultra feminam ferox. Tacit.*

nine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress, where the king's treasures, and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

(y) That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising an hundred * talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates, who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary

(y) Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 25, 26.

* *An hundred thousand crowns.*

for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming ; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors, sent to him by Mithridates, into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide ; that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied : that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man, whom none could conquer ; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

* Mox ipse supplex & præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus : neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cuius se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompejum. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cuius

auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas : neque ei inhonestè aliquem summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. *Vel. Patere.* l. 2. c. 37.

When

When he arrived on horseback near the entrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot ; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors ; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after referred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited his father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not shewed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference, as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not however entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his antient kingdom Armenia major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death ; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree, which deprived him of what had been promised him.

* *About 90000 l. sterling.*

He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view ; and upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law ; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, That the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law ; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required ; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty * drachmas, a † thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each ‡ tribune ; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

(z) After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northward in pursuit of Mithridates.

(z) Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 28—33. Appian. p. 24. 245.

* About 22 s.
sterling.

† About 25 l. sterling.

‡ About 250 l.

Upon the banks of the * Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him: but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

(a) The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the questors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace, upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his son's as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

(a) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

* Called Cyrenus also by some authors.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. This kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his sons named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlosyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant-generals. (b) Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who by Lu-

(b) Appian in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. 40. c. 2.

cullus's permission had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to sollicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was de-throned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. (c) In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolomæus Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

(d) Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

(e) A fine contention between the love of a father

(c) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.
P. 638, 639.

(d) Plut. in Pomp.

(e) Val. Max. l. 5. c. 7.

and the duty of a son was seen at this time: a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have * persisted in refusing the scepter, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in consequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the Strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest

* Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisset. *Val. Max.*

part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, wrote by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis ; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these ! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them ?

(*f*) His memoirs of Physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freed-men ; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skillful in medicines. It was he, who invented the excellent antidote, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

(*g*) Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it adviseable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert ; a very dangerous enterprize, in which he would have run great risque of perishing. So that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner, as to intercept any convoys that might

(*f*) Plin. l. 25. c. 20. (g) A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Dio. Cas. l. 37. p. 34, 36. App. p. 246—251.

be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardor into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red-Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed, there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red-Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia upon the Orontus free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red-Sea. But an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to That. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigor as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose he went to pass some time at Amisus, the antient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults,

faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publickly charged and reproached Lucullus, that subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated ; and now fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him, who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to the son, in recompence for the services of both.

During

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took the advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to sollicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the Pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he revolved in his mind.

But as to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries,

NOW

now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po : the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into such a terror, that to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters, as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived, that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

(b) Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched

(b) A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with lawrels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and sollicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: (i) *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of

(i) Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 8.

* Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus, virtute eximius: aliquando fortuna semper animo maximus: consiliis

dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal. *Vcl. Patere*. l. 2. c. 18.

soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress ; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again upon the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general ; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first ; but against generals, without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear that he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

(k) Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence, to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him ; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy, who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents ; but for the body of Mithridates, look-

(k) A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 4, 8. & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 35 & 36.

ing upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those, to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept : his principal Arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold ; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas, (about 37 l. sterling) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum, to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents ; that is to say, about two million, four hundred thousand pounds ; besides which, he had twenty thousand more, (three millions) to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

(1) His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot : amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus ; Olthaces king of Colchos ; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia ; the

(1) A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 64.

sister ; five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, scepter, and gold busto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article contains the history of thirty-five years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolomæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt ; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

SECT. I. *Ptolomæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's ; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother very young, succeed him.*

(*m*) **W**E have seen in what manner Ptolomæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time, to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will ; but to shew that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheri-

(*m*) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 63. Vol. IX.

tance,

tance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions ; and it had been a very unsecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim ; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body ; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects, which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *player on the flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

(n) He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods, which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual ; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome, at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it ; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the peoples consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

(n) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dio. Cass. l. 39. p. 97. Strab. l. 17. p. 796.

(o) Though

(o) Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus, as an antient appanage of Egypt, and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

(p) Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of the Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty, that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprized, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the

(o) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58.
P. 776.

(p) Plut. in Cato Utic.

Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed, in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city reduced to sollicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

(*q*) Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

(*q*) Dio. Cass. l. 39. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. 33. c. 10. Cic. ad Fam. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

(r) But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than an hundred persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: and his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius the Stoic philosopher was the first in it, who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought, that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued

there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprizing young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

(s) In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported: *If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: but however, you shall not give him any troops. For if you do, you will suffer and hazard much.*

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited to the people, and obliged them by the authority, which his office of tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar, which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

(s) A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. No body doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the Assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reason, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force a person of great authority. And Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. (1) The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using

(1) Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

the force of arms, which was expressly forbid by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went however with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus. "You are
 " the best judge, says he, as you are master of Cilicia
 " and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect.
 " If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria,
 " and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is,
 " without doubt, both for your own and the honour
 " of the commonwealth, that you should go thither
 " with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Pto-
 " lemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in
 " order, that after you have appeased the revolt, and
 " left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may
 " safely return thither. * In this manner you will
 " reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree,
 " and he be restored without troops, which our zealots
 " assure us is the sense of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity, upon which Cicero valued himself? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

* Ita fore ut per te restitueretur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; & sine multitudine reduca-

tur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

Lentulus,

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented: “That
“all * the world would judge of his conduct from the
“event: That therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it.”

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Tho’ every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. (u) He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the ensuing year. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by

(u) A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120. & in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

* Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatu-
———Nos quidem hoc sentimus;
si exploratum tibi sit, posse te il-

lius regni potiri, non esse cunctan-
dum; sin dubium non esse co-
nandum.

giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprize, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

(x) Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: They brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was, to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

(y) Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium. For they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth, as was terrible to think on,

(x) Strab. l. 12. p. 533. Id. l. 17. p. 794 & 796. Dio. l. 39. p. 117—118. Cic. in Pison. n. 43, 50. (y) Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Scironida. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory, which possessed Antony. For Ptolemy was no sooner entered Pelusium, than out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time in consequence for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expence of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans, who

served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy, which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons, who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

(2) The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring. But some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

(a) Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, tho'

(2) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 74, 75.
Rabir. Posth.

(a) Cic. pro

one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To compleat his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use ; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt ; and lastly, of having shared in the money, which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom it was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

(*b*) Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age,) he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. (*c*) We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

(*b*) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæsar de bello Civ. l. 3.

(*c*) Eutrop. l. 6.

SECT. II. *Pothinus and Achilles, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king, having been drowned in fighting after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He seizes Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.*

(d) **L**ITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achilles the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra in the king's name of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine, to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his

(d) A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian. de bell. civ. p. 480—484. Cæs. de bell. civ. l. 3. Dio. l. 42. p. 200—206.

re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make, Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of three unworthy persons, that governed the prince than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods, and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: If they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt: for, said he, according to the proverb, *Dead men don't bite.*

This advice carried it, as being in their sense the wisest and most safe. Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it in execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore:

without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death ; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, *Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before*, he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed men gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea : This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him ; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant generals with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those

those countries. * As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle, that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the life, and do services to some citizen, who had born arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar perceiving, that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

* Cæsar confusus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat; atque om-

nem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. *Cæf.*

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder. Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen, or wooden vessels ; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate ; in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independant, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then vested in his person, in quality of consul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them ; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will,

was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive, than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those she employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took no body with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding, that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of cloaths. Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person, had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly, that his judge was become his adversary ; and having learnt that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quit-
ted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground ; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city. Cæsar had infallibly been over-powered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it: from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra, into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making that concession.

(e) The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend, that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force and through fear, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he

saw, that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him in consequence from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the Quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature !

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands; sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time ; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought

brought him the troops, which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number, till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoë the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused, of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water ; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome ; for there was no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications, with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar, to be stopt up ; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinus had sent by sea, was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet, to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and

* *There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. Thevenot's travels.*

immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria ; and had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling ; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of the gods. The All of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left, if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship, in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people, who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians seeing, that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him ; assuring him, that his presence alone would

would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions ; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince, to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity ; to redress the evils, with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions ; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty ; and to shew his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. * Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar

(f) He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater the Idumæan contri-

(f) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 14 & 15.

* Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne à gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flets orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se de-

mitteret : non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius. *Hiro. de Bell. Alex.*

buted

buted very much towards it. He not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Coelosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way: but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a compleat victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to
escape

escape in a boat was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January ; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone ; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion, which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

(g) Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her ; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest sollicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoë, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold ; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however,

(g) Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence, at least it was there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven with the decree confirming them.

(g) What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of this conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

SECT. III. *Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates*

(g) Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

* This was a city of Cappadocia.

Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is compleat. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. (b) When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; and the Triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

(i) Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the Triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions; which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. (k) Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

(b) A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv. 4. Porphyry, p. 226.

(i) Appian. l. 3. p. 576. l. 4. p. 623. l. 5. p. 675.

(k) A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

(l) Antony,

(1) Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the Triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed, that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependance of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors ; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whether he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra, having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, enflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes, that she could also very easily captivate Antony : and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world ; whereas she was going to appear before Antony at an age, wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five and twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments ; and with still higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey ; but she only laughed

(1) A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Diod. l. 48. p. 371. Appian. de bell. civil. l. 5. p. 671.

at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade, to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself; and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in

his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendor as disposition of the feast, and was the first to railly the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuosity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin ; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

(*m*) Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still out-did that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

(*m*) Athen. l. 4. p. 147, 148.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts, happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested according to custom upon Antony's table, as very indifferently served and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend * more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed, that she only boasted, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence; demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I can't spend a million only upon myself. † A second table was brought, and according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it, but a single cup of vinegar. Antony surprized at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into || the vinegar, and after having made it melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by

* Centies H-S. Hoc est centies centena millies sestertiûm. Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52500 l. sterling.

† The antients changed their tables at every course.

|| Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things. Aceti succus domitor rerum, as Pliny says of it, l. 33. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son

of a comedian (Clodius the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expence of his meals enormous. Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ, Scilicet ut decies solidûm exorberet, aceto Diluit insignem baccam. Hor. l. 2. Sat. 5.

the other *. Plancus stopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

(n) Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness; treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences: which may be judged from the following circumstance.

(o) A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physick, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprize at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all: but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. For, added he, it often happens, that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason not one, but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat.

(n) A. M. 3954. Ant. J. C. 40.

(o) Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

* This other pearl was afterwards presented to Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and

having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

Cleopatra,

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times, with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprize at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, *Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings.*

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received ad-

vice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. (n) But having began his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

(o) This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning, and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. (p) She knew besides several other languages; whereas the kings, who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire,

(n) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.
Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphan. de mens. & pond.
Anton. p. 927.

(o) A. M. 3966.
(p) Plut. in

very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours, which he paid this foreign princefs.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

(q) It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broke in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. *Is it true,* said that prince at table, talking of this story, *that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?* If it were, replied the veteran with a smile, *I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person, who made the first attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper.*

(r) Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra: and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with cloaths, and great sums of money for his troops.

(q) Plin. l. 33. c. 23.
35. Plut. in Anton. p. 239—242.

(r) A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and the gravity of her manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to die for love of Antony ; and with that view, made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprize and amazement ; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no further, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried, she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first ; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would neither permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him,

When

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony, than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved, and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

(s) It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

(t) After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to

(s) A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34.
Ant. J. C. 33.

(t) A. M. 3971.

Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimeter after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones: he had a diadem on his brows, and a scepter of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe, made of the precious linnen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœlosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes Kings of Kings, and de-

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab Cæsario imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium pe-

tiit: & promisit Antonius. *Flor.* l. 4. c. 11.

clared till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it ; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were drest after the mode of the several countries, over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians ; and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis ; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions, to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him ; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party ; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side ; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army :

She,

She, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, might have learnt in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed the time in feasting and pleasure. The kings, in their train, exhausted themselves, in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

(u) It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened, related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly well knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquets, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible, how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him: *I am*

(u) Plin. l. 21. c. 3.

the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity, or reason for such an action. Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem, Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

(*) The new consuls, Cajus Sotius, and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission ; and declared publickly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree, and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party ; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side : for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it, and the opera-

(*) A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

tions were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies, sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave no body in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope, that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by (y) two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alledging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which

(y) Titius and Plancus.

they were obliged to observe ; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it : I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsario the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of Kings of Kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of a state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt ?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra : it was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with
towers

towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height ; so that those superb vessels upon the sea, might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for compleatly manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do service.

On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person ; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold ; its sails of purple ; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That * queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and pre-

* Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus & imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum : quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria.

HOR. Od. 37. l. 1.

*Whilst drunk with fortune's beady wine,
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,
So much her vain ambition charms,
With her polluted band of supple slaves,
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
The Capitol in dust to level low,
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow !*

pared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendor was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

(z) Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied upon. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it, without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships, than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

(z) A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

* The

* The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day Cæsar seeing his victory compleat, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Antony, having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to † Tænarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

* *The 4th before the nones of September.*

† *Proventory of Laconia.*

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and two and twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious ; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

(a) Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who she foresaw would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad ; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burnt all the ships

(a) A. M. 3974. Ant. J. C. 30.

she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person, to adorn his triumph; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person;

person ; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second députation, not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment ; and that those, which were gentle, brought on an easy, but slow death ; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions ; and which, throwing the person bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life ; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary sollicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendor and magnificence, above what she had ever instanced

instanced before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him, not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! The most odious of vices were united in her person ; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person, she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried ; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held
with

with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally, and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour ; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him ; he came, compleatly armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised ; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited, without making any motion, to see the success of that attack : but was much astonished, when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him, of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signaling himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing
himself

himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artificial princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities ; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know, that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprize ; but she
appeared

appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her cloaths upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; and that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour, to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She

had however a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar; who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers, who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprize; *Oh unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, *You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his goodness and clemency.* At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire: he instructed Proculeius at the same time, to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with

with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: The first, upon account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Ariæus one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was

reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. My lord, said she to him, pointing to those pictures, behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown. Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it; see also, said she, kissing them, the dear testimonies of his love. She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances; but she employed those arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in revenge she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, Is it not a horrible thing, said she to him, that when you have

not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some woman's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved: and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse, as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two wo-

men, she shut the door, fate down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there appeared so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That * princess was too haughty, and too much

* Ausa & jacentem visere regiam
 Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
 Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
 Corpore combiberet venenum,
 Deliberatâ morte ferocior :
 Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
 Privata deduci superbo
 Non humilis mulier triumpho.

HOR. Od. 37. lib. 1.

*Not the dark palace of the realms below
 Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;
 Calmly she looks from her superior throne,
 That can both death and fear controul;
 Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
 And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
 Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
 She will not from her own descend,
 Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side.
 His pompous triumph to attend;
 But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.*

above

above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred fourscore and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681, to 3974.

Conclusion of the antient history.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and antient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states, separate, and in a manner entirely distinct, from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembred, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms, which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly,

an abridged picture of all ages ; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world ; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration ! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it : height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment ; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the Natural and the True ; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences ; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view ! What powerful, what glorious kings ! What great captains ! What famous conquerors ! What wise magistrates ! What learned philosophers ! What admirable legislators ! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them, but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride ; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him : *he seeth from everlasting to everlasting* (b). He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions we have seen, that nothing has come to pass by chance. We

(b) Eccles. xxxix. 19.

know, that under the image of that statue, which Nebuchodonosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? (c) *A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them, and the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who descended to cloath himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet

(c) .Dan. c. ii. v. 34, 35.

represents him to us : (d) *He went forth conquering and to conquer.* His work and mission are, *to set up a kingdom for his father, which shall never be destroyed ; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people ; like those of which we have seen in the history ; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. (e) *All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.* He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth ; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it ; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invifible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end, than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection.

(d) Apoc. vi. 2.

(e) Matth. xxviii. 18.

When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect ; (f) *Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose king is love, and whose duration is eternity. Fiat, Fiat.*

(f) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

The End of V O L. X.

T H E

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It shews to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year : for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days five hours and forty-nine minutes.

The lunar year is composed of twelve lunar months, of which each is twenty-nine days twelve hours and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days eight hours and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed Civil or Political.

Tho' nations may not agree amongst themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's ; they however generally use the solar year in *Chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed that the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days, to

make them agree with the solar ; which reconcile them with each other, or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year, in which a fact has happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. * These are called *Epochs*, from a Greek word which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting-place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid Anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events, which are to serve as Epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of history may take such, as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years is called *Æras*. There are almost as many *Æras* as there have been different nations. The principal, and most used, are those of *the World*, of *Jesus Christ*, of the *Olympiads*, and of *Rome*. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the Chronological Tables at the end of my history. But the narrow compass of pages in twelve obliges me to confine myself to the two most famous, that is to say, that of *the World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows that *the Olympiads* derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years compleat, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the

* 'Εποχῆ.

World 3228, before Christ 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the *Olympiads*, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an Olympiad ; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred, and in like manner when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this *Epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is also a famous *Æra* in *Chronology*, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use : but first I must give the reader an idea of the three *Cycles*, of which it is composed.

By the word *Cycle*, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The *Solar Cycle* is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years the seven first letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical Letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces all the variations, included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the *Solar Cycle* consists.

— The *Lunar Cycle*, called also the *Golden Number*, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and an half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the *Cycle* to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the *Epacts*, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the *Calendar*.

Besides these two *Cycles*, chronologers admit a third also called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the *first Indiction*, the second the *second Indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first *Indiction*, &c.

The first *Indiction* is generally supposed to have began three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar *Æra* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*. If that number be divided by 28, what remains * after the division, shews the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the *indiction* may be found. It is demonstrated that the three numbers which express these three *Cycles*, cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles, of which

* I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of *Cycles* elapsed since

the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division, shews the year of the current *Cycle*.

it is composed, began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years, supposing the creation to precede the vulgar *Æra* only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jesus Christ*. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used, for every body agrees in respect to the year in which it began, and there is no body who does not know, that the first year of the vulgar *Æra* falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar *Æra* of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that *Æra* 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the *Æra* of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the *Julian period*, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological tables. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view. But, besides my not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too
many

many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the tables, and in consequence swelled the volume, that as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of those two people are abundantly interwove with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into Chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.

1800. NIMROD, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians.

NINUS, son of Nimrod.

SEMIRAMIS, she reigned 42 years.

NINYAS.

The history of the successors of Ninias for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.

T A B L E.

235

E G Y P T.

G R E E C E.

Ant:
J. C.

A. M.

1816.	MENES or MESRAIM, first king of Egypt.	2188.
	BUSIRIS.	
	OSYMANDIAS.	
	UCHOREUS.	
	MOERIS.	
1915.		Foundation of the king- dom of Sicyon. 2089.
1920.	The King-shepherds seize the lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	2084.
2084.	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the King-shepherds.	1920.
2148.		Foundation of the king- dom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica. 1856.
2179.	THETHMOSIS expels the King-shepherds, and reigns in the Lower E- gypt.	1825.
2276.	Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold by Poti- phar.	1728.
2298.	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.	1706.
2427.	RAMESSES-MIAMUM begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israe- lites.	1577.
2448.	CECROPS carries a co- lony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the king- dom of Athens by Ce- crops. He institutes the Areopagus. 1556.

2494. AMENOPHIS, the eldest son of Rameffes, succeeds him. 1510.

2513. The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red-sea. Sefostris his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself after a reign of 33 years. 1491.

2547. PHERON succeeds Sefostris. 1474.

2800. PROTEUS. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. 1204.

RHAMPSINITH.

CHEOPS.

CHEPHREM.

MYCERINUS.

ASYCHIS.

The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration, but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.

2991. PHARAOH king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon. 1013.

3026. SESAC, otherwise called Sefonchis. It was with him that Jereboam took refuge. 978.

T A B L E.

237

A. M.

G R E E C E.

Ant.

J. C.

2488. Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. 1516,
Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.

2530. DANAUS, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos. 1474.

Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycenæ.

2628. SISYPHUS the son of Æolus makes himself master of Corinth. 1376.

2710. The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ. 1294.

2720. Ægæus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince. 1284.

2800. The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus, from whence they are obliged to retire soon after. 1204.

2820. Troy taken by the Greeks. 1184.

2900. The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the brothers Eurysthene and Procles reign together. 1104.

2934. Institution of the Archons at Athens. Medon the son of Codrus is the first. 1070.

2949. Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the seat of his government. 1055.

A. M.

E G Y P T.

G R E E C E.

Ant.

J. C.

971.

3033. SESAC marches against
Jerusalem, and conquers
Judæa.

3063. ZARA king of Egypt
makes war with Afa king
of Judah.

ANYSIS. In his reign
Sabacus, king of Ethiopia,
makes himself master of
Egypt, reigns there fifty
years, after which he re-
tires, and leaves the king-
dom to Anyfis.

3120.

LYCURGUS.

884.

3160.

HOMER. Hesiod lived
about the same time.

844.

3210.

CARANUS founds the
kingdom of Macedonia.

794.

3228.

Beginning of the com-
mon Æra of the Olym-
piads.

776.

A. M. I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninyas down to about this time, nothing is known of their history. **Ant. J. C.**

A S S Y R I A N S.

3233. PHUL. The king of Ninive, who repented upon Jonah's preaching. 771.

3237. SARDANAPALUS, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns himself in his palace. 767.

The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed, that of the Assyrians of Babylon, that of the Assyrians of Ninive, and that of the Medes.

240
A. M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

E G Y P T.

G R E E C E.

Ant.
J. C.

3261.

First war between the
Messenians and Lacedæ-
monians. It continues
twenty years.

743.

3280.

Archilochus the fa- 724.
mous poet.

3285.

SEHON. He reigned
fourteen years.

719.

T A B L E.

241

A. M. BABYL. NINIVE. MEDES. LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.
747.

3257. BELESI, THEG- ARBACES
OR NABO- LATH exercises the
NASSAR. PHALA- sovereign au-
The scrip- SAR. The thority over
ture calls 8th year of the Medes,
him Baladan. his reign he without ta-
aids Ahaz king upon
king of Ju- him the ti-
dah, and tle of king.
makes him-
self master of
Syria, and of
part of the
kingdom of
Judah.

3268. MERO-
DACH BA-
LADAN.
He sent am-
bassadors to
Hezekiah to
congratulate
him upon
the recovery
of his health.
Nothing is
known of
the other
kings that
reigned in
Babylon.

The He-
rachdæ pos-
sels the king-
dom of Ly-
dia 505
years. Ar-
gon was the
first king.
He began to
reign in the
year of the
world 2781.
The history
of his succes-
sors is little
known be-
fore Can-
daules.

736.

3269.

SALMA-
NASAR.
The eigh
year of his
reign he took
Samaria, and
carried away
the people
into capti-
vity.

CANDAU-
LEE.

735.

3298. THARACA reigns 18 years. 706.
- Anarchy two years in Egypt.
3319. Twelve of the principal lords of Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority. 685.
3320. Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians 14 years. 684.

T A B L E.

243

A. M. BABYL. NINIVE. MEDIA. LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.
718.

3286.

GYGES. He
puts Candau-
les to death,
and reigns in
his stead.

3287.

SENNA-
CHERIB. In
the fifth year
of his reign
he makes
war against
Hezekiah
king of Ju-
dah.

717.

An angel
destroys his
army at the
time he is
besieging Je-
rusalem.

On his re-
turn to his
kingdom, he
is killed by
his own sons.

3294.

ASARHAD-
DON.

710.

3296.

DEJOCES
causes him-
self to be de-
clared king
of the Medes.

708.

3334.

PSAMMITICUS, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a siege of 29 years.

670.

T A B L E.

245

A. M. BABYL. NINIVE. MEDIA. LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.
651.

3323.

ASARHAD-
DON unites
the empire
of Babylon
with that of
Ninive.

3324.

Death of
Gyges.

ARDYS his. 680.
son succeeds
him. In his
reign, of 49
years, the
Cimmerians
made them-
selves mas-
ters of Sar-
dis.

3327.

ASARHAD-
DON carries
the remains
of the king-
dom of Israel
into Assyria.
The same
year he puts
Manasseh in
chains, and
carries him
to Babylon.

677.

3364.

Tyrtæus, a poet who 640.
excelled in celebrating mi-
litary virtue.

Thales of Miletus,
founder of the Ionic sect.

T A B L E.

247

A. M. NIN. ET BAB. MEDIA. LYDIA:

Ant.
J. C.
669.

3335. SAOSDUCHIN,
OR NABUCHA-
DONOSOR I. The

3347. his reign he de- Death of De-
feats Phraortes, joces. PHRAOR-
king of the Medes, TES succeeds him.
and takes Ecba-
tana. It was af-
ter this expedition
that he made
Holophernes be-
siege Bethulia.

657.

3356. Death of Na-
buchadonosor. Sa-
racus, called also
CHYNALADA-
NUS succeeded
him.

648.

3369.

Phraortes pe-
rishes at the siege
of Ninive with
part of his army:
CYAXARES his
son succeeds him.
The second year
of his reign he
beats the Affyri-
ans, and attacks
Ninive, the siege
of which he is
obliged to aban-
don by a sudden
irruption of the
Scythians into his
dominions.

635.

3380.

D R A C O, legislator of 624.
Athens.

3388.

N E C H A O. The seventh year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seizes part of his dominions. He reigned sixteen years.

616.

T A B L E.

249

A. M. NIN. ET BAB.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.
631.

3373.

SADYATTES.
He forms the
siege of Miletus
in the sixteenth
year of his reign.

3378.

NABOPOLAS-
SAR's revolt a-
gainst Saracus.
He makes him-
self master of
Babylon.

Cyaxares joins
his forces with
those of Nab-
opolassar, takes
Ninive, and puts
Saracus its king
to death.

626.

Destruction of
Ninive. From
thenceforth Ba-
bylon was the ca-
pital of the Af-
syrian empire.

3385.

ALYATTES.
He continues the
siege of Miletus
which had been
carried on six
years by his fa-
ther, and puts an
end to it six years
after by con-
cluding a peace
with the be-
sieged. In the
same prince's
reign there was
a war between
the Medes and
Lydians, which
was terminated
by the marriage
of Cyaxares with
Aryenis the
daughter of Aly-
attes.

619.

250

A. M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

E G Y P T.

G R E E C E.

Ant:
J. C.

3400.

SOLON;

604.

The seven sages of
Greece lived about this
time.

ALCÆUS, from whom
the Alcaic verses take their
name.

SAPHO, at the same
time.

3404.

PSAMMIS six years.

600.

T A B L E.

251

A. M. BABYLON.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.
607.

3397. Nabopolassar
affociates his son
Nabucodonosor in
the empire, and
sends him at the
head of an army
to re-conquer the
countries taken
from him by
Nechao.

3398. Jerusalem ta-
ken by Nabuco-
donosor. He
transports a great
number of Jews
to Babylon, and
amongst them
the prophet Da-
niel.

The captivity
begins from this
carrying away the
Jews to Babylon.

3399. Death of Na-
bopolassar. His
son **NABUCODO-
NOSOR II.** suc-
ceeds him in all
his dominions.

606:

605:

3403. Nabucodono-
sor's first dream
interpreted by
Daniel.

601:

3404.

ASTYAGES,
the son of Cya-
xares, gives his
daughter in mar-
riage.

600:

3410. APRIES. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first years of his reign.

594.

3411. Zedekiah king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah.

593.

T A B L E.

253

A. M. BABYLON.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.

riage to Cam-
byles king of
Persia.

3405.

Nabucodono-
for's Lieutenants,
after having ra-
vaged Judæa,
blockade Jeru-
salem, and put
king Jehoiakim
to death. About
the end of the
same year, Na-
bucodonosor re-
pairs in person to
Jerusalem, makes
himself master of
it, and appoints
Zedekiah king
instead of Jehoi-
achin, whom he
carries into cap-
tivity.

Birth of Cy-
rus.

599.

3409.

Death of Cy-
axares. Aftya-
ges his son suc-
ceeds him. He
reigns thirty-five
years.

595.

3416.

Nabucodono-
for destroys Jeru-
salem, and car-
ries away Zede-
kiah captive to
Babylon. At his
return into his

Cyrus goes for
the first time in-
to Media, to see
his grandfather
Astyages. He
remains three
years with him,

588.

3430. Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya. 574.
Amasis revolts against Apries.
3432. Nabucodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne. 572.

3435. Apries dies in the twenty - fifth year of his reign. 569.
AMASIS reigns after him in peace.

3440. THESPIS reforms tragedy. 564.
PYTHAGORAS lived about this time.

3444. SIMONIDES, the celebrated poet. 560.

T A B L E.

255

A. M. BABYLON.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

Ant.
J. C.

dominions he
causes the three
young Hebrews
to be thrown in-
to the furnace.

3432. Nabucodono-
for makes him-
self master of
Tyre after a siege
of thirteen years.
He did not march
against Egypt till
after this expedi-
tion.

572.

3434. Nabucodono-
for's second dream
interpreted by
Daniel.

570.

5435. Nabucodono-
for reduced to the
condition of beasts
during seven
years, after which
he reigns again
one year. EVIL-
MERODACH his
son succeeds him.
He reigns only
two years.

569.

3442.

CRÆSUS.

562.

3444. NERIGLIS-
SON. He makes

Death of Af-
tyages, CΥΛΛΑ-

ÆSOP lived in
his reign, and
was in his court

560.

256

A. M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

E G Y P T.

G R E E C E.

Ant.
J. C.

3445.

PISISTRATUS makes
himself master of Athens.

559.

3460.

HYPPONAX, author of
the verse Scazon.

544

HERACLITUS, chief
of the sect which bears his
name.

T A B L E.

257

Ant.
J. C.

A. M. BABYLON.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

great preparations
for war against
the Medes, and
calls in Cræsus
to his aid.

RES succeeds him,
known in the
scripture under
the name of Da-
rius the Mede.

at the same time
with Solon.

3445.

Cyrus returns
into Media for
the second time,
in order to assist
his uncle in the
war with the Ba-
bylonians.

559.

3447.

Expedition of
Cyrus against the
king of Arme-
nia.

557.

3448.

Cyaxares and
Cyrus defeat the
Babylonians in a
great battle, in
which Neriglif-
sor is slain.

556.

Cræsus flies
before Cyrus.

LABORO-
SOARCHOD.
He reigns only
nine months.

3449.

LABYINIT,
called in scrip-
ture Belshazzar.

555.

About this
time the mar-
riage of Cyprus
with the daugh-
ter of his uncle
Cyaxares, may
be dated.

3456.

Battle of
Thymbrea be-
tween Cræsus
and Cyrus, fol-
lowed with the
taking of Sardis
by the latter.

548.

End of the
kingdom of Ly-

3464.

Birth of *ÆSCHYLUS*.

540.

CTESIPHON or **CHERSIPHON**, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.

3478.

Death of *PISISTRATUS*. 526.
HIPPIAS his son succeeds him.

3479. **PSAMMENITUS**. He reigns only six months. After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the Persian dominions, and continues so till the reign of Alexander the Great, which includes the space of two hundred and six years.

525.

A. M.

B A B Y L O N.

M E D E S.

Ant.
J. C.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|------|
| 3466. | Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes. | Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon. | 538. |
| 3468. | | Death of Cyaxares. | 536. |

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyfes, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes, with those of the Babylonians and Persians; and of the three formed a fourth under the name of the empire of the Persians, which subsisted two hundred and six years,

Empire of the P E R S I A N S.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------|
| 3468. | C Y R U S. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa. | 536. |
| 3470. | Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia. | 534. |
| 3475. | Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares. | 529. |
- C A M B Y S E S his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and reunites it to the empire of the Persians.

- | | | |
|-------|---|------|
| 3490. | MILTIADES goes to settle in the Chersonesus. | 514. |
| 3496. | The Pisistratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica. | 508. |

A. M.

P E R S I A N S.

Ant.
J. C.

3480. Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyfes against the Ethiopians. 524.
3481. Cambyfes puts Meroe, who was both his sister and wife, to death. 523.
- It was about this time that Oretes, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyfes, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the Tyrant of it, to be put to death.
3482. Death of Cambyfes. SMERDIS the Magus, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyfes, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months. 522.
3483. DARIUS son of Hyftaspes. 521.
3485. Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther, happened some time after the publication of this edict. 519.
3488. Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months. 516.
3490. Expedition of Darius against the Scythians. 514.
3496. Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection. 508.

The history of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians, for which reason I shall separate their Chronology no farther.

P E R S I A N S A N D G R E E K S.

3501. The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months. 503.
3502. Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures. 502.
3504. The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it. 500.
3507. The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus. 497.
- ÆSCHYLUS.
3510. Darius sends Gobryas his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece. 494.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	ANACREON.	
3513.	Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobryas, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.	491.
3514.	Battle of Marathon.	490.
3515.	Unfortunate end of Miltiades.	489.
3519.	Death of Darius Hystaspes. XERXES his son succeeds him.	485.
3520.	Birth of the historian HERODOTUS .	484.
3524.	Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.	480.
	Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas king of the Lacedæmonians is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, at the same time as the battle of Thermopylæ.	
	Battle of EURIPIDES .	
	Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.	
3525.	Battle of Plataeæ. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.	479.
3526.	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.	478.
3528.	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.	476.
	PINDAR flourished about this time.	
3530.	PAUSANIAS , general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.	474.
3531.	THEMISTOCLES , the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus king of the Molossians.	473.
	SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES appear in Greece about this time.	
3532.	Xerxes is killed by Artabanus the captain of his guards.	472.
	ARTAXERXES , surnamed LONGIMANUS , succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.	
3533.	CIMON receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.	471.
	Birth of the historian THUCYDIDES .	
3534.	Great earthquake at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the Helots.	470.
	Birth of SOCRATES .	
3535.	Beginning of Pericles.	469.

A. M. PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

Ant:
J. C.

PHIDIAS, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.

Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.

3537. **ESDRAS** obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem with all that are willing to follow him. 467.

3538. **Themistocles** puts an end to his life at Magnesia. 466.

3540. **HERODICUS** of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians, called *Διαίτητική*. Hippocrates was his disciple. 464.

3544. The Egyptians supported by the Athenians revolt against Artaxerxes. 460.

3545. Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt. 459.

3548. The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn. In consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Dinarus, where they sustain a siege of a year. 456.

Battle of Tanagra in Bæotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Bæotians.

3550. **NEHEMIAH** obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem. 454.

3554. Birth of **XENOPHON**. 450.

Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.

3555. End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years. 449.

Death of Cimon.

3558. The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprizes. 446.

EMPEDOCLES, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.

MYRON, the famous sculptor of Athens.

3564. Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island after a siege of nine months. 440.

ZEUXIS, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus.

PARRHASIUS his rival lived at the same time.

ARISTOPHANES, the comic poet.

A. M.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

Ant.
J. C.

3568. Birth of ISOCRATES.

436.

War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. ALCIBIADES begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.

SCORUS, architect and sculptor.

3573. Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists twenty-seven years. 431.

3574. A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick. 430.

3575. Death of Pericles. 429.

3570. The Lacedæmonians besiege Platææ. 428.

PLUTO, founder of the ancient academy.

3579. Death of Artaxerxes. XERXES his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days. 425.

SOGDIANUS puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.

3580. OCHUS, known under the name of DARIUS NOTHUS, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him. 424.

The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.

Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.

POLYGNOTUS famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.

3583. Treaty of peace concluded by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades by an imposture occasions its being broke the following year. 421.

3584. The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism. 420.

3588. Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egesta against the Syracusans. 416.

3589. Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens, to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy. 415.

3590. Pisuthnes governor of Syria revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years. 414.

Alcibiades

A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

J. C.

3593. Alcibiades, to avoid the envy which his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tiffaphernes, one of the king of Persia's favourites. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tiffaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia. 411.
3595. Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority. 409.
3597. Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor. 407.
3598. LYSANDER is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him. 406.
3599. CALLICRATIDAS has the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginusæ. 405.
3599. Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos. 405.
- CONON, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras king of Cyprus.
3600. Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty Tyrants. 404.
- End of the Peloponnesian war.
- Death of Darius Nothus. ARSACES his son succeeds him, and takes the name of ARTAXERXES MNEMON.
3600. Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces of which he was governor. 404.
3601. Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis. 403.
- Thraſybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
3602. Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes. 402.
3603. Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand. 401.
- Death of Socrates.
3604. Lacedæmon declares war against Tiffaphernes and Pharnabazus. 400.
3605. Beginning of AMYNTAS king of Macedonia, father of Philip. 398.

3607. AGESILAUS is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there. 397.
3609. Lyfander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne. 395.
The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agesilaus.
3610. Thebes, Argos and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. 394.
The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabazus and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time in the plains of Coronæa.
Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
3617. Peace shameful to the Greeks concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian. 387.
3618. Artaxerxes attacks EVAGORAS, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him. 386.
It is followed by the siege of Salamin, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.
3620. Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. 384.
Birth of ARISTOTLE, founder of the Peripatetics.
3621. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. 383.
Birth of PHILIP king of Macedon.
3622. PHÆBIDAS, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes. 382.
Birth of DEMOSTHENES.
3626. Pelopidas at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel. 378.
3627. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, that had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparation for that war. 377.
3629. Death of Amyntas king of Macedonia. ALEXANDER his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. PERDICCAS ascends the throne next, and reigns fourteen years. 375.
3630. Death of Evagoras king of Cyprus. NICOCLES his son succeeds him. 374.

A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

J. C.

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|-------|--|------|
| 3634. | Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians. | 370. |
| 3635. | Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia to terminate the differences between Perdiccas, and Ptolomy son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ. | 369. |
| 3641. | Battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans. | 363. |
| 3642. | The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos king of Egypt against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition. | 362. |
| | Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him. | |
| 3644. | PHILIP ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians. | 360. |

The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's successors. I shall annex to it that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.

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|-------|--|------|
| 3646. | War of the allies with the Athenians. It continues three years. | 358. |
| | Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis. | |
| 3648. | Revolt of Artabazus against Ochus king of Persia. | 356. |
| | Birth of ALEXANDER the Great. | |
| 3649. | Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia. | 355. |
| | Beginning of the sacred war. | |
| 3650. | Death of Mausolus king of Caria. | 354. |
| 3651. | Philip makes himself master of the city Methone. | 353. |
| 3652. | ARTEMISIA, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes. | 352. |
| 3652. | Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain. | 352. |
| 3653. | Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt. | 351. |

A. M.

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Ant.
J. C.

3654. Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns. 350.
3656. Death of Plato. 348.
Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
3658. Philip seizes Thermopylae, and part of Phocis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons. 346.
3662. Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus in favour of Diopithus. 342.
3665. The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege. 339.
3666. Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa. 338.
Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.
Ochus king of Persia is poisoned by Bagoas his favourite. ARSES his son succeeds him, and reigns only three years.
3667. Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria. 337.
3668. Philip's death. ALEXANDER, his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him. 336.
Arses king of Persia is assassinated by Bagoas. DARIUS CODOMANUS succeeds him.
3669. Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth. 335.
3670. Alexander sets out for Persia. 334.
Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.
3671. Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river of Cydnus. He is cured in a few days. 333.
Battle of Issus.
3672. Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months. 332.
APELLES one of the most famous painters of antiquity. ARISTIDES and PROTOGENES were his contemporaries.

Alexander

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P E R S I A N S A N D G R E E K S.

Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.

3673. Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa and Persepolis. 331.

3674. Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great. 330.

The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.

Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracarta.

Philotas and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.

3675. Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death. 329.

Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.

3375. Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people. 329.

Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.

3676. Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus. 328.

Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Callisthenes happens soon after.

Alexander marries Roxane the daughter of Oxartes.

3677. Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes. 327.

3678. On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back. 326.

The city of the Oxydracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.

3679. Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darins. 325.

Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.

Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.

3680. Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana. 324.
 MENANDER, the inventor of the New comedy, lived about this time.
3681. Alexander on his return to Babylon dies there at the age of two and thirty years and eight months; ARIDÆUS, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas. 323.
 The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the *Æra* of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.
 The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.
3682. Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it. 322.
 Death of Demosthenes.
3683. Alexander's magnificent funeral. 321.
 PERDICCAS puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia.
 League of Ptolomy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas, and Eumenes.
 Death of Craterus.
 Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.
3684. EUMENES defeated by Antigonus, shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year. 320.
 PTOLOMY makes himself master of Jerusalem.
3685. Death of Antipater. POLYSPERCHON succeeds him. 319.
 Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.
 CASSANDER, son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.
3687. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus, and Euridice his wife, to be put to death, as she herself is soon after by order of Cassander. 317.
3689. Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death. 315.
3691. ANTIGONUS takes Tyre after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear. 313.
3692. ZENO institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens. 312.
 3693. SELEUCUS makes himself master of Babylon, and the neighbouring provinces. 311.
 At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon begins the famous *Æra* of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the *Æra* of contracts.

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Ptolomy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him.

Caſſander cauſes Roxane, and her ſon Alexander, to be put to death.

3695. Polyſperchon puts Hercules, the ſon of Alexander, and his mother Berenice to death. 309.

3695. Ophellas, governor of Lybia, revolts againſt Ptolomy. 303.

3698. DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and re-eſtabliſhes the democratical government. The ſame year he makes himſelf maſter of Salamin, and the whole iſland of Cyprus. 306.

Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his ſtatues, and condemn him to death.

3698. Antigonus, and his ſon Demetrius, aſſume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the ſame. 306.

3699. Antigonus, to make the moſt of his ſon's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolomy of Egypt. That expedition does not ſucceed. 305.

Ptolomy the aſtronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolomy king of Egypt on the 7th of November of this year.

3700. Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the ſiege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raiſe a year after. 304.

3701. The Rhodians employ the money raiſed by the ſale of the machines, which Demetrius had uſed in the ſiege of their city, and had given them as a preſent, in erecting the famous Coloffus, called the Coloffus of Rhodes. 303.

Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the ſtates of Greece aſſembled at the Iſthmus.

3702. Ptolomy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, enter into a league againſt Antigonus, and Demetrius his ſon. 302.

Battle of Ipfus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the diviſion of the empire of Alexander amongſt the four allied princes.

ARCESILAEUS founder of the Middle academy.

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There is so much connection between the events, which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them. For which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table, that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDO- NIA,	THRACE AND BITHYN.	
3704.	PTOLOMY SOTER.	SELEUCUS NICATOR.	CASSAN- DER.	LYSIMA- CHUS.	300.
3507.			PHILIP and ALEX- ANDER the sons of Cas- sander dis- pute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years.		297.
3710.			DEME- TRIUS PO- LIORCETES		294.
3717.			PYRRHUS and LYSI- MACHUS.		287.
3719.	PTOLOMY PHILA- DELPHUS.				285.
3723.				Lyfima- chus is kil- led in a bat- tle. After his death his dominions are dismem- bred, and	281.
			SELEU- CUS NICA- TOR, a very short time.		

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cease to form
a distinct
kingdom.

3724.	ANTIO- CHUS SO- TER.	PTOLOMY CERAUNUS His brother MELEA- GER reigned sometime af- ter him.	280.
3726.		SOSTHE- NES.	278.
3728.		ANTIGO- NUS GONA- TAS.	276.
3743.	ANTIO- CHUS THE- OS.		261.
3758.	PTOLOMY EVERGE- TES.	SELEU- CUS CAL- LINICUS.	245.
3762.		DEME- TRIUS son of Antigonus Gonatas.	242.
3772.		ANTIGO- NUS DOSON.	232.
3778.	SELEUCUS CERAUNUS		226.
3781.	ANTIO- CHUS THE GREAT.		223.
3783.	PTOLOMY PHILOPA- TOR.		221.
3784.		PHILIP.	220.
3800.	PTOLOMY EPIPHA- NES.		204.
3817.	SELEUCUS PHILOPA- TOR.		187.

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A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA	Ant. J. C.
3824.	PTOLOMY PHILOMETOR.			180.
3825.			PERSEUS, the last king of the Macedonians.	179.
3829.		ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.		175.
3840.		ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR.		164.
3842.		DEMETRIUS SOTER.		162.
3854.		ALEXANDER BALA.		150.
3859.	PTOLOMY PHYSCON.	DEMETRIUS NICATOR.		145.
3860.		ANTIOCHUS THEOS the son of Bala seizes part of Syria. TRYPHON does the same soon af- ter.		144.
3864.		ANTIOCHUS SYDITES puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room.		140.
3877.		ZEBINA suc- ceeds Demetrius Nicator.		127.
3880.		SELEUCUS, the son of Nica- tor.		124.
		ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS.		
3887.	PTOLOMY LATHYRUS.			117.
3890.		ANTIOCHUS the CYZICENI- AN, divides the kingdom with Grypus.		114.

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A. M.	E G Y P T.	S Y R I A.	Ant. J. C. 107.
3397.	ALEXANDER I. brother of Lathyrus.		
3907.		SELEUCUS son of Gry- pus.	97.
3911.		ANTIOCHUS EUSE- BES.	93.
3912.		ANTIOCHUS, second son of Grypus.	92.
3913.		PHILIP, third son of Grypus.	91.
3914.		DEMETRIUS EUCHE- RES, fourth son of Gry- pus.	90.
3919.		ANTIOCHUS DIONY- SIUS fifth son of Grypus.	85.
		The four last named kings reigned successively with Eusebes.	
3921.		TIGRANES during 14 years.	83.
3923.	ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I.		81.
3935.		ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS.	69.
3939.	PTOLOMY AULETES.		67.
3945.	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, reigns some time in his stead, after which that prince is restored.		58.
3953.	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolomy her youngest brother, and at last alone.		50.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

3704. SELEUCUS king of Syria builds Antioch. 300.
Athens refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.
3707. Death of Cassander king of Macedon. PHILIP his 297.
son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is suc-
ceeded by ALEXANDER his brother. About this time
Pyrrhus king of Epirus espouses Antigone of the house
of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of
which he had been driven by the Molossi.
3709. DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES retakes Athens. Ly- 295.
simachus and Ptolemy almost at the same time deprive
him of all he possessed.
3710. Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedo- 294.
nia, who had called him in to his aid, and seizes his do-
minions, where he reigns seven years.
3711. Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus. 293.
3717. Pyrrhus and Lyfimachus take Macedonia from Deme- 287.
trius. The latter dies miserably the year following in
prison.
3719. PTOLEMY SOTER, king of Egypt, resigns the 285.
throne to his son PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.
Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by PHI-
LETERRUS.
3721. Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of 283.
Philadelphus, and kills himself there.
3722. Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against 282.
Lyfimachus king of Macedonia.
- 37 3. Lyfimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleu- 281.
cus enters Macedonia to take possession of the king-
dom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. ANTIO-
CHUS SOTER his son succeeds him in the kingdom of
Syria.
3724. CERAUNUS, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to 280.
himself, puts the two children of Seleucus by Arsinoe to
death, and banishes her into Samothracia.
The republic of the Achæans resumes its antient form,
which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.
Pyrrhus king of Epirus, called in by the Taren-
tines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans.
He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea,
where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is
again successful in a second battle fought the year fol-
lowing.
3725. Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus 279.
gives them battle, in which he is killed. MELEA-
GER his brother succeeds him.
3726. Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he 278.
conquers.

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SOSTHENES drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.

Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.

3727. Ptolomy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek. 277.

3728. Death of Sosthenes. ANTIGONUS GONATAS son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus king of Syria disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus. 276.

3729. Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of *Soter*. 275.

3730. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus. 274.

Ptolomy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.

3732. Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos. 272.

3736. Antigonus Gonatas makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him. 268.

3739. ABANTIDAS makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put CLINIAS, its governor, to death. 265.

MAGAS, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against Ptolomy Philadelphus.

3741. Death of Phileterrus king and founder of Pergamus. EUMENES his nephew succeeds him. 263.

3743. Antiochus Soter king of Syria causes his son ANTIOCHUS to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after. 261.

BEROSUS of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.

3746. Accommodation between Magas and Ptolomy Philadelphus. 258.

3749. War between Antiochus king of Syria, and Ptolomy Philadelphus. 255.

3752. ARATUS the son of Clinias delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league. 252.

3754. ARSACES revolts against Agathocles governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time THEODORUS governor of Bactriana revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province. 250.

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3755. Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter. 249.
3756. AGIS king of Sparta endeavours to revive the antient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas his colleague is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus his son-in-law reigns in his stead. 243.
3757. Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. PTOLEMY EVERGETES his son succeeds him. 247.
APOLLONIUS of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
3758. Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son SELEUCUS CALLINICUS to be declared king. 245.
Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.
Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.
3760. The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes. 244.
Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth.
LEONIDAS is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
3762. Death of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia. DEMETRIUS his son succeeds him. 242.
Seleucus king of Syria enters into a war with ANTIOCHUS HIERAX his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
3763. Death of Eumenes king of Pergamus. ATTALUS his cousin-german succeeds him. 241.
3765. ERATOSTHENES the Cyrenian is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes. 239.
3771. JOSEPH, nephew of the high-priest ONIAS, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes. 233.
3772. Death of Demetrius king of Macedonia. ANTIGONUS, guardian of Philip son of Demetrius, succeeds him. 232.
POLYCLETUS of Sicyon, a famous sculptor.
3774. Seleucus king of Syria is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces king of the Parthians. 230.
3776. CLEOMENES, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus. 228.
3778. Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Par- 226.

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Parthians of a fall from an horse. SELEUCUS CERAUNUS his eldest son succeeds him.

Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.

Aratus defeats Aristippus tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lyfiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.

3779. The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree, that they shall be admitted to share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens. 225.

Antigonus king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.

3781. Cleomenes king of Sparta takes Megalopolis. Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus. 223.

Death of Seleucus Ceraunus king of Syria. ANTIOCHUS his brother, surnamed THE GREAT, succeeds him.

3782. The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake. 222.

3783. Death of Ptolomy Evergetes king of Egypt. PTOLOMY PHILOPATOR succeeds him. 221.

The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.

3784. Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia. 220.

Death of Antigonus king of Macedonia. PHILIP the son of Demetrius succeeds him.

Cleomenes king of Sparta dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him.

War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.

3785. HERMIAS, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders. 219.

3787. Battle of Raphia between Ptolomy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria. 217.

Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedonia and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.

3788. Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted in Sardis, 216.

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- Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan.
- Hannibal's alliance with Philip king of Macedonia.
3789. Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia. 215.
3790. CARNEADES founder of the new academy. 214.
3792. Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces, which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years. 212.
3793. Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some short time after. 211.
3796. Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and the Ætolians near Elis. PHILOPÆMEN distinguishes himself in it. 208.
3798. Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopæmen defeats MACHANIDAS tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. NABIS is set in his place. 206.
3800. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it. 204.
- POLYBIUS is said to have been born this year.
- Death of Ptolomy Philopator king of Egypt. PROLOMY EPIPHANES, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.
3801. League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt. 203.
3802. Philip king of Macedonia is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year. 202.
3803. Philip besieges and takes Abydos. 201.
3804. The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia. 200.
3805. Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flamininus is sent to succeed Villicus. 199.
3806. Antiochus king of Syria subjects Palestine, and Cælo-Syria. 198.
- The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.
3807. Interview of Philip and the consul Flamininus. 197.
- Nabis tyrant of Sparta declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same.
- Death of Attalus king of Pergamus. EUMENES succeeds him.

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Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a compleat victory over Philip.

3808. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, 196.
which puts an end to the war.

Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.

Conspiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, against Ptolomy Epiphanes discovered, and punished.

3809. Flaminius makes war against Nabis tyrant of 195.
Sparta.

3813. Philopæmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis 193.
near Sparta.

The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta by treachery and stratagem.

Nabis is killed. Philopæmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.

Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.

3814. Battle of Magnesia followed by a treaty of peace, 190.
which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, that had subsisted about two years.

The philosopher PANÆTIUS was born about this time.

3815. The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to 189.
the Romans. Manlius his colleague almost at the same time subjects all the Gauls in Asia.

The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles supported by Philopæmen, happened this year.

3817. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in 187.
the temple of Jupiter-Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR succeeds him.

3821. Philopæmen is taken before Messene by Dinocrates, 183.
and put to death.

3823. Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is unjustly 181.
accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.

3824. Death of Ptolomy Epiphanes king of Egypt. 180.
PTOLOMY PHILOMETOR succeeds him.

3825. Death of Philip king of Macedonia. PERSEUS his 179.
son succeeds him.

3829. Seleucus Philopator king of Syria is poisoned by 175.
Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

3830. Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of 174.
Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.

War

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3833. War between Antiochus and Ptolomy Philometor. 171.
The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.
3834. Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard of cruelties. 170.
3835. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make PTOLOMY EVERGETES his younger brother king. 169.
Philometor is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.
3836. Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced however into a province of the Roman empire till 20 years after. 168.
The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.
Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.
Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.
The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution amongst the Jews.
3837. Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time. 167.
Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome, to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.
3838. PRUSIAS king of Bithynia goes to Rome. Eumenes king of Pergamus is not permitted to enter it. 166.
Death of Mattathias. JUDAS his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.
3840. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where 164.

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where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies in the most exquisite torments. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR his son succeeds him.

3841. Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital. 163.

3842. Differences between Philometor king of Egypt and Physcon his brother, which do not terminate till after the expiration of five years. 162.

Octavius ambassador for the Romans in Syria is assassinated.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.

3843. Death of Judas Maccabæus. 161.

3844. Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans. 160.

3845. Death of Eumenes king of Pergamus. ATTALUS Philometor succeeds him. 159.

3846. War between Attalus and Prusias. 156.

3851. ALEXANDER BALA pretends himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria. 153.

3852. ANDRISCUS of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome, by Metellus. 152.

3854. Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria. 150.

3856. Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire. 148.

3857. Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diaeus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted. 147.

3858. Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him, and after a great battle near Leucopetra takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it. 146.

Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia.

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled, for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to compleat its chronology.

S Y R I A.

3859. **DEMETRIUS NICATOR**, son of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne. 145.
3860. **ANTIOCHUS**, surnamed **THEOS**, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon makes himself master of part of the kingdom. 144.
Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and seizes the kingdom of Syria.
3863. Demetrius marches against the Parthians. After some small advantages he is taken prisoner. 141.
3864. **ANTIOCHUS SIDETES**, the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death he is declared king himself. 140.

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

E G Y P T.

3859. Death of Ptolomy Philometor. P T O L O M Y 145.
P H Y S C O N his brother succeeds him.

3866. { Death of Attalus king of Pergamus. ATTA- } 138.
 { ls his nephew surnamed PHILOMETOR suc- }
 { ceeds him. He reigns five years. } }

3869.

Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.

135.

3873.

Antiochus marches against the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They send back Demetrius the year following.

131.

3874.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

130.

3877.

Demetrius is killed by ALEXANDER ZEBINA, who takes his place, and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.

127.

3880.

SELEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS succeeds him.

124.

3882.

Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies soon after.

122.

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

E G Y P T.

3868. The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria, oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place. 136.

3871. { Attalus Philometor king of Pergamus at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. } 133.
{ ANDRONICUS seizes them. }

3874. { The consul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and sends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman Province by Manius Aquilius. } 130.

Physcon repudiates Cleopatra his first wife, and marries his daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.

3877. Physcon reascends the throne of Egypt. 127.

3882. Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus king of Syria. 122.

A. M.

S Y R I A.

Ant.
J. C.

3884. Cleopatra attempts to
poison Grypus, and is poi-
soned herself.

120.

3890.

ANTIOCHUS THE CY-
ZICENIAN, son of Cleo-
patra and Antiochus Si-
detes, takes arms against
Grypus. He has the
worst in the beginning.
But in two years obliges
his brother to divide the
kingdom of Syria with
him.

114.

3907. Death of Grypus. SE-
LEUCUS his son succeeds
him.

97.

3910.

Antiochus the Cyzice-
nian is defeated, and put
to death.

94.

3911. Seleucus is defeated by
Eusebes, and burnt in
Mopfuestia.

93.

ANTIOCHUS EUSE-
BES, the son of the Cy-
zicenian, causes himself
to be declared king. He
marries Selena, the wi-
dow of Grypus.

A. M.

Ant.

E G Y P T.

J. C.

3887. Death of Physcon: PTOLOMY LATHYRUS succeeds him. Cleopatra his mother obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra his eldest sister, and to marry Selena his youngest. 117.
3891. Cleopatra queen of Egypt gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son. 113.
3897. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne. 107.
3900. Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander king of the Jews upon the banks of the Jordan. 104.
3901. Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself. 103.
3903. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyzicenan. 101.

3912. ANTIOCHUS, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes. 92.
3913. PHILIP his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him. 91.
3914. DEMETRIUS EUCHE-RES, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus by the aid of Lathyrus. 90.
3916. Eusebes defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who re-establish him upon the throne two years after. 88.
3919. Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year. 85.
3921. The Syrians weary of so many changes, choose TIGRANES king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy. Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 83.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra. 89.

3916. Alexander is expelled and dies soon after. 88.
Lathyrus is recalled.

3922. Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels, 82.
he had before defeated, had taken refuge.

3923. Death of Lathyrus. ALEXANDER II. son of Alex- 81.]
ander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.

3935. Tigranes recalls Magda-
lus his viceroy in Syria.

69.

ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS takes possession of some parts of Syria, and reigns four years.

3939.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.

65.

T A B L E.

293

A. M:

Ant.
J. C.

E G Y P T.

3928. { Death of Nicomedes king of Bithynia. His } 76.
kingdom is reduced into a Roman province ; as is }
Cyrenaica the same year.
3939. Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Au- 65.
letes, Lathyrus's natural son, is set in his place.
3946. The Romans depose Ptolemy king of Cyprus, 58.
and seize that island. Cato is charged with that com-
mission.
Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Bere-
nice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in
his stead.
3949. Gabinius and Antony restore Auletes to the entire pos- 55.
session of his dominions.
3953. Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his domi- 51.
nions to his eldest son and daughter, the famous Cleo-
patra.
3956. Pothinus and Achilles, the young king's guardians, 48.
deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and
drive her out of Egypt.
3957. Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleo- 47.
PATRA upon the throne with Ptolemy her youngest
brother.
3961. Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of 43
age to share the sovereign authority according to
the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman
Triumviri.
3963. Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She 41.
gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her to
Alexandria.
3971. Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and 33?
brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of
Cleopatra and all her children.
Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra
accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at
Athens.
3973. Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony fol- 31.
lows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar.
3974. Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. 30.
Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleo-
patra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman pro-
vince.

3644. **ARIARATHES I.** was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holo-
phernes. 360.
3668. **ARIARATHES II.** son of the first. He is deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who sets Eumenes on the throne. 336.
3689. **ARIARATHES III.** ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes. 315.
3720. **ARIAMNES.** 284.
- ARIARATHES IV.**
3754. **ARSACES I.** founder of the Parthian empire. 250.
ARSACES II. brother of the first.
PRIAPATIUS.
PHRAATES I.
3814. **ARIARATHES V.** 190.

T A B L E.

295

A. M.

Ant.

P O N T U S.

J. C.

3490. The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hyſtaſpes in the year 3490. Artabazus was the firſt king of it. His ſucceſſors down to Mithridates are little known. 514.

3600. MITHRIDATES I. He is commonly conſidered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus. 404.

3638. ARIOBARZANES. He reigns twenty-fix years. 366.

3667. MITHRIDATES II. He reigns thirty-five years. 337.

3701. MITHRIDATES III. reigns thirty-fix years. The reigns of the three kings who ſucceeded him, include the ſpace of an hundred years. The laſt of them was MITHRIDATES IV, great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great. 302.

3819. PHARNACES ſon of Mithridates IV. 185.

A. M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIAN
EMPIRE.

Ant.

J. C.

3840.

MITHRIDATES I.

164.

3842.

ARIARATHES VI. surnamed Philopator.

162.

3873.

PHRAATES II.

131.

3875.

ARIARATHES VII.

ARTABANUS. After a very short reign he is succeeded by MITHRIDATES II. who reigns forty years.

129.

3913.

ARIARATHES VIII. Mithridates king of Pontus puts him to death, and set his son upon the throne. Soon after ARIARATHES IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father.

91.

3914.

SYLLA enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.

90.

3915.

TIGRANES king of Armenia drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates.

89.

MNASCHIRES, and after him SINATROCES. These two princes reign about twenty years.

T A B L E.

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A. M.

Ant.

P O N T U S.

J. C.

MITHRIDATES V. surnamed Evergetes.

3881. MITHRIDATES VI. surnamed the Great. 123.
3913. Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son 91.
king of it.

3915. Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the 89.
Romans.

3916. Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to 88.
be massacred in one day.
ARCHELAUS, one of the generals of Mithridates,
seizes Athens, and most of the cities of Greece.

3926. Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very short one of his son, continue down to about the year 3953.

78.

3935.

PHRAATES III. who assumes the surname of *the Great*.

69.

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

P O N T U S.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 3917. | Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege. | 87. |
| 3918. | Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Chæronea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenes. | 86. |
| 3920. | Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war. | 84. |
| 3921. | Mithridates puts his son to death.
Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than three years. | 83. |
| | | |
| 3928. | Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius. | 76. |
| 3929. | Beginning of the third war of Mithridates against the Romans. LUCULLUS and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army. | 75. |
| 3930. | Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid. | 74. |
| 3931. | Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus. | 73. |
| 3933. | Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiræ. He retires to Tigranes. | 71. |
| 3934. | Lucullus declares war against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him and takes Tigranocerta the capital of Armenia. | 70. |
| | | |
| 3936. | Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsania. | 68. |
| 3937. | Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army. | 67. |

A. M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIAN
EMPIRE.Ant.
J. C.

3948.

MITHRIDATES eldest
son of Phraates.

56.

3950.

ORODES.

54.

Unfortunate expedi-
tion of Crassus against the
Parthians.

3953.

ARTIOBARZANES III.
He is put to death by
Cassius.

51.

3962.

ARIARATHES X.

42.

VENTIDIUS, general of
the Romans, gains a vic-
tory over the Parthians,
which retrieves the honour
they had lost at the battle
of Carræ.

3973.

M. ANTONY drives
Ariarathes out of Cappa-
docia, and sets Archelaus
in his place. On the
death of that prince,
which happened in the
year of the world 4022,
Cappadocia was reduced
into a Roman province.

31.

T A B L E.

301

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

P O N T U S.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 3938. | <p>Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.</p> <p>Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.</p> | 66. |
| 3939. | <p>Pompey makes himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up.</p> <p>Death of Mithridates. PHARNACES his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.</p> | 65. |

Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295, before Christ 709.

3520. GELON's beginning. 484.
3525. GELON is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns five or six years. 479.
3532. HIERO I. He reigns eleven years. 472.
3543. THRASYBULUS. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects. 461.
3544. The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years. 460.
3589. The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely. 415.
3593. Beginning of DIONYSIUS the Elder. 411.
3598. DIONYSIUS, after having deposed the antient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo. 406.
3600. Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which, Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person. 404.
- New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.

T A B L E.

303

A. M.

Ant.

C A R T H A G E.

J. C.

Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158,
before Christ 846.

- | | | |
|-------|---|------|
| 3501. | First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans.
It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it, when it was concluded. But what year they did so is not known. | 503. |
| 3520. | The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes. | 484. |
| 3523. | The Carthaginians, under AMILCAR, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon. | 481. |
| | | |
| 3592. | The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal to aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans. | 413. |
| 3595. | HANNIBAL and IMILCON are sent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum. | 409. |
| | | |
| 3600. | The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans. | 404. |

3605. Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians. 399.
3607. Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by an herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage. 397.
3615. Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force. 389.
3632. Death of Dionysius the Elder. His son DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER succeeds him. By the advice of DION, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court. 372.
- Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.
3643. Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant with open force. 361.
3644. DION obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy. 360.
3646. CALLIPPUS causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months. 358.
3647. HIPPARINUS, brother of Dionysius the Younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years. 357.
3654. Dionysius reinstated. 350.
3656. The Syracusans call in TIMOLEON to their aid. 348.
3657. Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself and to retire to Corinth. 347.
3658. TIMOLEON abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates. 346.
3685. AGATHOCLES makes himself tyrant at Syracuse. 319.

T A B L E.

305

A. M.

C A R T H A G E.

Ant.

J. C.

3607. Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years. 197.

3654. Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians 350.

3656. The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by TIMOLEON, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans. 348.

HANNO, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.

3672. Embassy of Tyre to Carthage to demand aid against Alexander the Great. 332.

3685. Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa. 319.

3724. A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery. 280.
3729. HIERO and ARTEMIDORUS are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops. 275.
3736. Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans. 268.
3741. Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans. 263.
3763. Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries. 241.
3786. Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians. 218.

T A B L E.

307

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

C A R T H A G E.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------|
| 3727. | The Carthaginians send the Romans aid under Mago against Pyrrhus. | 277. |
| | | |
| 3741. | Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It subsists twenty-four years. | 263. |
| | | |
| 3743. | The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a siege of seven months. | 261. |
| 3745. | Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians near the coast of Myle. | 259. |
| 3749. | Sea fight near Ecnome in Sicily. | 255. |
| 3750. | REGULUS in Africa. He is taken prisoner. | 254. |
| | XANTHIPPOS comes to the aid of the Carthaginians. | |
| 3755. | Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments. | 249. |
| 3756. | Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans. | 248. |
| 3763. | Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the first Punic war. | 241. |
| | War of Libya against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists three years and four months. | |
| 3767. | The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents. | 237. |
| 3776. | AMILCAR is killed in Spain. ASDRUBAL his son-in-law succeeds him in the command of the army. | 228. |
| | Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal. | |
| 3784. | Asdrubal's death. HANNIBAL is made general of the army in his stead. | 220. |
| 3786. | Siege of Saguntum. | 218. |
| | Beginning of the second Punic war, which subsists seventeen years. | |
| 3787. | Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinus and Trebia. | 217. |

3789. Death of Hiero. **HIERONYMUS** his grandson succeeds him. 215.

Hieronimus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse.

3792. **MARCELLUS** takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years. 213.

T A B L E.

309

A. M.

Ant.

C A R T H A G E.

J. C.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------|
| 3788. | Battle of Thrasymenus.
Hannibal deceives Fabius at the straits of Cassilinum.
CN. SCIPIO defeats the Carthaginians in Spain. | 216. |
| 3789. | Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle. | 215. |
| | | |
| 3790. | ASDRUBAL is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios. | 214. |
| | | |
| 3793. | The two Scipios are killed in Spain.
The Romans besiege Capua. | 211. |
| 3794. | Hannibal advances to Rome and besieges it. The Romans soon after take Capua. | 210. |
| 3793. | Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other consul Nero had joined. | 206. |
| 3799. | Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa. | 205. |
| 3802. | Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country. | 202. |
| 3803. | Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory. | 201. |
| 3804. | Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war.
Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second, and the beginning of the third, Punic wars. | 200. |
| 3810. | Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy. | 194. |
| 3811. | Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus. | 191. |
| 3816. | Hannibal takes refuge in the island of Crete, to avoid being delivered up to the Romans. | 188. |
| 3820. | Hannibal abandons the island of Crete, to take refuge with Prusias king of Bithynia. | 184. |
| 3822. | Death of Hannibal. | 182. |
| 3823. | The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to adjudge | 181. |

- adjudge the differences that had arose between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.
3848. Second embassy sent by the Romans into Africa, to make new enquiries into the differences subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. 156.
3855. Beginning of the third Punic war. It subsists a little more than four years. 149.
3856. Carthage is besieged by the Romans. 148.
3858. Scipio the younger is made consul, and receives the command of the army before Carthage. 146.
3859. Scipio takes and entirely demolishes Carthage. 145.

◊

End of the Chronological Table.

3 AP 65

GENERAL

G E N E R A L

I N D E X

Of the M A T T E R S contained in the
A N T I E N T H I S T O R Y.

A.

ABANTIDAS makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, VII. 323
ABAS, king of Argos, II. 300
ABDOLONYMUS is placed upon the throne of Sidon against his will, VI. 176. his answer to Alexander, 177
ABELOX, a Spaniard, his treachery, I. 262
ARRADATES, king of Susiana, engages in Cyrus's service, II. 112. he is killed in the battle of Thymbræa, 131
ABRAHAM goes to Egypt with Sarah, I. 69. the Scripture places him very near Nimrod; and why, II. 12
ABROCOMAS, one of the generals of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army, marches against Cyrus the younger, IV. 84
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- PLISTHENE**s, son of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, II. 301.
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- POMPEJUS**, Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Perseus, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himself valiantly, IX. 38.
- PONTUS**, kingdom of Asia-Minor, II. 4. VII. 12. chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Pontus, *ibid.*
- C. POPILIUS** is sent ambassador into Egypt in order to put an end to the war there, VIII. 382. he obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two brother Ptolemies in quiet possession of it, 387. he is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the decree of the senate there in favour of the Greeks, IX. 40.
- PORPHYRIUS**, Tyrian, a learned Pagan, declared enemy of Christianity, and the holy Scriptures, VIII. 423.
- PORUS**, Indian king, refuses to submit to Alexander, VI. 334. he is defeated and taken prisoner, 338, 343. Alexander restores him his dominions, *ibid.*
- POSTS**. Invention of posts and couriers, II. 168, 230.
- POTHINUS**, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra. X. 176. he advises the death of Pompey, 177. he endeavours to render Cæsar odious to the Egyptians, 179. he prevents the effect of Cæsar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 182. Cæsar causes him to be put to death, 184.
- POTIDÆA**, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, to whom it was tributary, III. 280. it is besieged and taken by the Athenians, 281, 338. Philip takes that city from them, VI. 12.
- POVERTY**. Love of poverty instituted at Sparta, IV. 262.
- POWER** or **RULE**, the spirit of it, how umbragious, X. 67.
- PREXASPE**, confident of Cambyfes, kills Smerdis by that prince's order, II. 199. his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyfes, 201. he promises the Magi to declare Smerdis the Magas the true son of Cyrus to the people, 208. he speaks to the people from the top of a tower, declares the contrary to them, throws himself down from the tower, and is killed, *ibid.*
- PRIAPATIUS**, son and successor of Artaces II. king of the Parthians, IX. 105.
- PRIENE**, city of Ionia, III. 276.
- PRINCES**. See *Kings*.
- PROLES**, son of Aristodemus, reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthene, III. 16.
- PROCULEIUS**, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Cæsar's hands, X. 218.

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- Proetus**, king of Argos, II. 200
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- Prosperity**. Proof to which it puts the soul, II. 187. train of prosperity, IV. 159
- Protagoras**, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, V. 334. Ochus confirms the possession of the throne to him, 338
- Protagoras** of Abdera, sophist, opinion of Protagoras concerning the divinity, III. 417. the Athenians expel him their city, and cause his works to be burnt, *ibid.*
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- Proteus**, king of Egypt, I. 78. he stops Helen and her riches, and restores her to Menelaus, *ibid.* &c.
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- Protozenes**, famous painter, Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, VII. 161
- Protomachus**, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands Arginæ, and were condemned at their return, IV. 33. 39
- Providence**. Discourse of Socrates upon providence, IV. 210
- Proxenes** of Exotia, commands a body of Grecian troops in the army of Cyrus the younger against his brother Artaxerxes, IV. 80. he is seized by treachery, and put to death, 102. character of Proxenes, 103
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- Prytanis**, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, II. 304
- Psammetichus**, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who uses him with clemency, I. 105. II. 195. he endeavours to reascend the throne, and is put to death, I. 105. II. 195
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PTOLOMY IX, king of Egypt. See **ALEXANDER** son of Physcon.

PTOLOMY X, son of Alexander I, king of Egypt. See **ALEXANDER**, II.

PTOLOMY XI, surnamed *Auletes*, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in Alexander II.'s stead, IX. 269. he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, X. 164. he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, *ibid.* he is dethroned, 165. the Alexandrians substitute his daughter Berenice in his place, *ibid.* he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrage of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his re-establishment, 166. he causes most of the ambassadors, sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt, to be murdered, 167. an oracle of the Sybil is trump up against him, 168. Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 174. Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, *ibid.* his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ibid.* death of Auletes, 175

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PTOLOMY, son of Anthony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Anthony, X. 203.

PTOLOMY APION, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica by his father, IX. 241. he leaves his kingdom to the Romans at his death, 255

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PTOLOMY MACRON, governor of the island of Cyprus under Ptolomy Philometor, revolts against that prince, enters into the service

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PTOLEMY, son of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle against the Lacedæmonians, VII. 275

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PULCHER (*P. Claudius*) consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal the Carthaginian general, I. 206

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Pyramid. Description of the pyramids of Egypt, I. 6, 82. judgment to be formed of those famous structures, 7

PYRRHIAS, general of the Ætoli-ans, is twice beaten by Philip, VIII. 79

PYRRHUS, son of Æacides king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the revolted, VII. 180. he is re-established upon the throne of Epirus by Glaucias king of Illyrium, *ibid.* the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder

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Ragan, name of the plain where Nabuchodonosor conquered Phraortes, II. 60

RAMESSES-MIAMUM, king of Egypt, I. 70. he makes the Israelites suffer infinite hardships, *ibid.*

RAMMIUS, citizen of Brundisium, is ordered by Perseus to poison Eumenes, IX. 11. he goes to Valerius at Chalcia, discovers the whole to him, and follows him to Rome, *ibid.*

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